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Landscape by E. Smith.

A Spanish Chasseur of the Island of Cuba.

Plate 10.

Published for Longman & Rees Paternoster Row March 28. 1803.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
MAROONS,

FROM THEIR ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF THEIR CHIEF TRIBE AT
SIERRA LEONE:

INCLUDING THE
EXPEDITION TO CUBA,
FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROCURING SPANISH CHASSEURS;

AND THE
STATE OF THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA
FOR THE LAST TEN YEARS:

WITH A
SUCCINCT HISTORY OF THE ISLAND
PREVIOUS TO THAT PERIOD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

Robert Charles
By R. C. DALLAS, Esq.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY A. STRAHAN, PRINTERS-STREET,
FOR T. N. LONGMAN AND O. REES, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1803.

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THE
HISTORY

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FROM THE ORIGIN TO THE PRESENT

OF THE

SHIRAZI

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

STATE OF THE

SUCCESSIVE HISTORY OF THE

IN TWO VOLUMES

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THE
HISTORY
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MAROONS.

LETTER IX.

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MY DEAR FRIEND,

NEITHER the energy and determined activity of Lord Balcarres, nor the skill,

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bravery,

bravery, and successes of General Walpole, seemed to avail in this war. The whole range of cockpits was open to the enemy: if annoyed in one they chose another, and the contest had all the appearance of being an endless evil, or rather one that threatened the entire destruction of the island; for had this body of Maroons evinced that their rebellion was not a temporary struggle, but a permanent and successful opposition to the Government, it is highly probable that the example might in time have united all the turbulent spirits among the slaves in a similar experiment, if not in the same interest; or indeed such a decided triumph might have tempted numbers of the plantation negroes, unwilling before to change a state of peace for warfare, to join the Maroons: at all events they would have been a rallying point for every discontented slave, and for all who dreading punishment were incited by their fears to escape. The lives of the colonists must have been spent in
con-

continual terror; massacre and depredation would have spread throughout the country, and all the credit of the island in Great Britain would have sunk to nothing. To complete this miserable picture, the foreign enemy, when fully assured of the state of the colony, would, even though unable to attempt a descent, have kept the coasts in constant alarm, and found means to maintain the spirit of rebellion, and perhaps to supply the rebels with arms. A peace obtained by supplication, as the terrors of some had led them to propose, would have been equally fatal and more disgraceful. It was in this state of affairs, and while General Walpole, whose firmness had rescued the island from the shame of a precipitate avowal of despondence and inability, was bent on compelling the Maroons to solicit terms, that an unpremeditated conversation gave rise to circumstances that eventually put an end to a war, in which force and military skill alone might have been foiled for years.

Colonel Quarrell*, who had been upon service with the troops in the mountains, was compelled by the state of his health to leave the head-quarters, and to go down to the sea-shore. There he met with an intelligent Spaniard, who, talking with him on the state of the island, related an event, to which Colonel Quarrell paid the utmost attention, as he thought the ideas it suggested might prove of importance to the country. It seems that some years before, when the British abandoned the Musquito-shore to the Spaniards, the latter were opposed by the native Indians, who had always shown the most determined enmity to them. They attempted in vain to take possession of the country by means of a military force: in the course of a very few months they lost, from surprises

* Colonel Quarrell wished me not to entitle him according to his military rank, which he considered as temporary; but the time of which I treat fully justifies my giving him the title of the rank he then held, and still holds, if he were called into service.

and

and ambushes, nearly three regiments. Compelled to abandon the place, or fall upon some plan of counteracting the Indian warfare, they imported from Cuba thirty-six dogs and twelve chasseurs, who were sent by the Alcalde Provinciale*, at the desire of Don Juan Despolito, the Governor of the Havanna. These auxiliaries were more formidable than the finest regiment of the most warlike nation could have been; and from the time of their being employed, neither surprise nor ambush annoyed the troops, the Spaniards soon succeeded in expelling the Musquito Indians from the territory on the coast, and quietly occupied Black River, Bluefields, and Cape Gracios a Deos. In whatever light the Philanthropist may view means of the gentlest kind when used to drive men from their native lands, he cannot justly blame the harshest adopted at home, when self-preservation is the end

* The high-constable of the province whence the dogs and chasseurs came.

proposed. Had the case been reversed, had the Indians employed dogs in driving away the Spaniards and keeping them from their country, satisfaction, and not horror, would have been the emotion excited. It occurred to Colonel Quarrell, that the assistance of a certain number of the Cuba chasseurs would be attended with happy effects: he foresaw that the very terror they would spread would induce the Maroons to submit on proper terms; and he argued, that even if the Commander in Chief were compelled to bring them into actual service, it would be better, and more for the interest of humanity, that some of the rebels should be thus destroyed, than that the most barbarous massacres should be committed on the inhabitants, and the colony ruined. Swayed by these motives, he suggested the scheme to the Speaker and several Members of the House of Assembly, to be laid before the Lieutenant-Governor. The House, however, misconceived the plan: in their anxiety to spare

spare the lives of the troops in so unequal a warfare, they approved of the means proposed, but contented themselves with recommending that a pecuniary encouragement should be given to the Spaniards trading to the North side of the island, to bring over a few dogs, in order to see what effect the importation would have. Colonel Quarrell, who had now retained the Spaniard with whom he had conversed, and two others in his pay, represented the inutility of this measure, pressed the conducting of the business on surer grounds and a more extensive plan, and, having obtained full information on the subject, offered to take the business upon himself, provided he were furnished with a vessel and a letter from the Governor of Jamaica to the Spanish Governor at the Havanna, requesting permission for him to purchase dogs. The Government, having taken the offer into consideration, acceded to the proposal; a schooner called the Mercury, carrying twelve guns, was sent down to

Bluefields, an open road at the western extremity of Jamaica; and a letter was transmitted to Colonel Quarrell, addressed to Don Luis de las Casas, the Governor at the Havanna, recommending the bearer of it to his attentions as a commissioner for the purposes mentioned in it, and likewise as a member of the legislature, and a lieutenant-colonel of the troops. When the captain of the vessel delivered his dispatches, the commissioner was ill with a fever: but so anxious was he that nothing should delay the service, that he immediately went on board, and the captain requesting orders for the time of sailing, he answered, that instant. The crew of the schooner consisted of four British seamen, twelve Curaçoa negroes, and eighteen Spanish renegadoes; but notwithstanding the unpromising, or rather alarming appearance of such a set of men, the commissioner, with a friend*, whom he had invited to

* Captain Gilpin of the militia.

accompany him on the voyage, and their two servants, embarked at Bluefields in the end of the month of October 1795.

Let us now take leave of General Walpole and the Trelawney mountains, of the Maroons and the cockpits, for a few weeks; let us set sail in the schooner, and let us accompany the commissioner in his expedition to Cuba, remembering, at the same time, that the sole object of it was to quell the Maroon rebellion. We will not, however, take our departure till we have investigated the justice of the means proposed for the end in view. The argument has been stated thus:

“ The Assembly of Jamaica were not unapprized that the measure of calling in such auxiliaries, and using the canine species against human beings, would give rise to much animadversion in England; and that the horrible enormities of the Spaniards in the conquest of the new world,

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would

would be brought again to remembrance. It is but too true, that dogs were used by those Christian barbarians against the peaceful and inoffensive Americans, and the just indignation of mankind has ever since branded, and will continue to brand, the Spanish nation with infamy, for such atrocities. It was foreseen, and strongly urged as an argument against recurring to the same means in the present case, that the prejudices of party, and the virulent zeal of restless and turbulent men, would place the proceedings of the Assembly on this occasion, in a point of view equally odious with the conduct of Spain on the same blood-stained theatre, in times past. No allowance would be made for the wide difference existing between the two cases. Some gentlemen even thought that the co-operation of dogs with British troops, would give not only a cruel, but a very dastardly complexion to the proceedings of Government.

“ To

“ To these and similar objections, it was answered, that the safety of the island and the lives of the inhabitants were not to be sacrificed to the apprehension of perverse misconstruction or wilful misrepresentation in the mother country. It was maintained, that the grounds of the measure needed only to be fully examined, and fairly stated, to induce all reasonable men to admit its propriety and necessity. To hold it as a principle, that it is an act of cruelty or cowardice in man to employ other animals as instruments of war, is a position contradicted by the practice of all nations. The Asiatics have ever used elephants in their battles; and if lions and tygers possessed the docility of the elephant, no one can doubt that these also would be made to assist the military operations of man, in those regions where they abound. Even the use of cavalry, as established among the most civilized and polished nations of Europe, must be rejected, if this principle be admitted; for wherein,

it was asked, does the humanity of that doctrine consist, which allows the employment of troops of horse in the pursuit of discomfited and flying infantry, yet shrinks at the preventive measure of sparing the effusion of human blood, by tracing with hounds the haunts of murderers, and rousing from ambush, savages more ferocious and blood-thirsty than the animals which track them?

“The merits of the question, it was said, depended altogether on the origin and cause of the war, and the objects to be obtained by its continuance; and the authority of the most celebrated writers on public law was adduced in support of this construction. ‘If the cause and end of war,’ says Paley, ‘be justifiable, all the means that appear necessary to that end are justifiable also. This is the principle which defends those extremities to which the violence of war usually proceeds: for since war is a contest by force between
parties

parties who acknowledge no common superior, and since it includes not in its idea the supposition of any convention which should place limits to the operations of force, it has naturally no boundary but that in which force terminates; the destruction of the life against which the force is directed.' It was allowed, with the same author, that useless and wanton barbarities derive no excuse from the licence of war, of which kind is every cruelty and insult that serves only to exasperate the sufferings, or to increase the hatred of an enemy, without weakening his strength, or in any manner tending to procure his submission; such as the slaughter of captives, subjecting them to indignities or torture, the violation of women, and in general the destruction or defacing of works that conduce nothing to annoyance or defence. These enormities are prohibited not only by the practice of civilized nations, but by the law of nature itself, as having no proper tendency to accelerate the termination, or accom-

accomplish the object of the war, and as containing that which in peace or war is equally unjustifiable, namely, ultimate and useless mischief. Now all these very enormities were practised, not by the colonists against the Maroons, but by the Maroons against the colonists. Humanity therefore, it was said, was no way concerned in the expedient that was proposed, or any other by which such an enemy could be most speedily reduced *."

The Maroons, though not coming, more than other people at war, within the definition of the term murderers, with which they are branded in this statement of the argument, were, like most uncivilized people, and not unlike some civilized nations, hurried by unruly passions to acts of barbarity. Depredation, devastation, and massacre, disgrace the wars not only of savages, but of Christians, or nations so

* Edwards.

called.

called. What are the horrors of the Maroon war in comparison with those we can trace throughout the French Revolution? Wherever we follow them, we see the most shocking depravity of human nature. I have already shown that the Maroons, safe themselves in their natural and impregnable garrisons, sent out parties to surprise and destroy, to massacre the unprepared, and to burn houses and plantations. They had defied, they had foiled British troops, the colonists were in despair; and it was with difficulty that General Walpole had prevailed upon an assembly of them to refrain from a concession that was pregnant with ruin. In such a situation, what archsophist will maintain that delicacy was to be preserved in the means of removing such an evil? Were a man bit by a mad dog, would he scruple to cut or burn out the part which had received the contagion? Do we not amputate a limb to save the body? And if self-preservation dictate these personal suffer-

sufferings, shall not the preservation of a large community justify the use of the readiest, perhaps the only means of averting its destruction? How different the case from that of the Spaniards hunting the native Americans! How different from the conduct of the Romans, sitting at ease in their amphitheatres to enjoy the sight of criminals encountering wild beasts! How different from that most horrible of all horrid diversions the Cryptia, in which the poor unoffending Helots were hugg'd and poniarded by the Spartans! These were, indeed, cases of wanton barbarity; but the man who says that the colonists of Jamaica were cruel in hiring the Spanish chassieurs, will be inconsistent if he does not condemn the practice of keeping watch-dogs, lest they should injure the nocturnal prowler; or if he allow that he might save his own life, or the lives of others, by setting his dog on a lawless band of assailants. The clamour, therefore, that was raised in England against the employment

ployment of the Spanish chasseurs was groundless and unjust, and it will be admitted to be the more so, when it is known, that all that was at first expected by the inhabitants from the use of the dogs, was to discover ambushes laid by the Maroons, in order that they might be defeated; and that many, doubting even this good effect, ridiculed the project: nay, the extent of the plan was unknown, and the mode of executing it uncertain. The commissioner, feeling for the situation of the island, had suggested it; the planters finding every other expedient tried in vain, and eager to seize on any hope, were anxious to try it; and Lord Balcarras, solicitous for their welfare, complied with their wishes, on their representing the probability of its answering a good purpose. Cruelty was entirely foreign to the project: the island had been thrown into so singular and alarming a dilemma, that no means which might extricate it could be deemed cruel. The

commissiſſioner's humanity and kindneſs to
 his own black people are well known in
 Jamaica; I myſelf bear witneſs to it, having
 had an opportunity, by reſiding at his houſe
 for a conſiderable time, to be well ac-
 quainted with his diſpoſition; and I be-
 lieve that his ſlaves enjoyed a far greater
 portion of happineſs than the generality of
 the poor in any country upon the face of
 the earth. But had it been otherwiſe, had
 the ſuggeſtion proceeded from a deſpotic
 and ferocious ſpirit, bent on the extermi-
 nation of ſome of the human ſpecies by a
 barbarous expedient, it is not likely that
 a mild, humane, and beneficent mind, like
 that of Lord Balcarres, or that the majority
 of any aſſembly of educated men, would
 have concurred in the experiment. It
 appeared to them at that time, as it muſt
 appear now to every rational man, a choice
 of two evils; and the one wiſely choſen
 was trivial in compariſon with the magni-
 tude of the other.

With

With respect to the scheme, it is a fact that the Lieutenant-Governor himself was, at the time of the commissioners's departure for Cuba, hardly aware of the extent of it. Colonel Quarrell was empowered to act according to the best of his judgment and discretion, but the letter to Don Luis de las Casas, only requested permission to purchase a few dogs. Had Lord Balcarres been apprized of the risk the commissioner incurred, or the certainty of the opposition the plan in its full extent would meet from the Governor of the Havanna, it is probable that his Lordship would not have concurred in it. But very different were the sentiments of the commissioner: having once impressed upon his mind that the execution of the design he had suggested would save the island from the ruin that threatened it, he resolved to venture his life, and to use his own resources, in accomplishing his object. Nor, as it will soon appear, was it an easy or safe undertaking; the end was clear, the means of

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effecting

effecting it obscure and doubtful. The commissioner determined not only to obtain dogs but chasseurs; he had to confide much in Spaniards, of whose fidelity he could not be certain; and while he was ostensibly purchasing a few dogs, he was to manage to procure their masters, without whom the animals would have been of no use. Such an undertaking required uncommon activity and a penetrating mind, as you will have occasion to observe more than once in the course of this expedition; to which we will now return.

The schooner on board of which the commissioner embarked, leaving the west end of Jamaica, stood to the northward in a direct course for the port of Trinidad, which it was necessary to make, in order to procure pilots to carry her through the islands and banks called the *Jardines del Reine*, an intricate navigation, to Batabano, another port lying in a very deep bay, within the isle of Pines, on the South side
of

of Cuba, at the distance of about forty-five miles from the Havanna, across the island.

As in giving you an account of this expedition, I wish to amuse as well as inform you, I take it for granted you will not be displeased, that I do not conceive myself debarred by my subject from relating occurrences that took place in the course of it, even though not immediately necessary to the elucidation of my principal narrative. The traveller who, speeding from post to post towards his journey's end, disdains to cast a look to the right or to the left, and who considers a little chat with a stranger on the way as loss of time, may attain the object he proposed at setting out, and get the sooner over his road; but he surely travels more pleasantly who carries with him a disposition to delight in the transient scenes through which he passes, and in accidental events that offer themselves to his enjoyment. If in

avoiding the trammels of historical composition, I hoped to shelter myself from the severity of criticism, you, my dear friend, and my other readers, will, I trust, be on your part pleased with the latitude I have gained by my candid artifice, of bringing to your view objects collaterally connected, and of making you as it were a party in the scenes I describe.

Soon after leaving Jamaica, the commissioner's vessel was chased for some hours by another schooner, which, on coming down so near as to perceive her chase to be an armed vessel, hauled her wind, and stood precisely the same course with the Mercury, which now in turn gave chase, and came up with the other vessel about two o'clock in the morning. Without waiting for an explanation the latter fired, on which the British schooner gave her a broadside. She then struck, and proved to be Spanish, having two and thirty men, and ten guns, with a cargo
of

of thirty-two thousand dollars. At this period the Spaniards were in amity with England, and at war with France; but it was necessary to take and keep possession of her till the next morning, in order to ascertain what she was. Except one man wounded, she had suffered no damage from the attack in the night; and all the loss she sustained was a few hundred dollars stolen by the Curaçoa negroes, who had been sent on board to take charge of her. This she merited for firing precipitately, which made it impossible for the commissioner to restrain his vagabond crew, who were indeed the scum of renegades, and from whom more danger was to be apprehended than from any privateer, however hostile. Throughout the passage, the few English who were on board the schooner, thought it necessary to keep possession of the quarter-deck and cabin with arms. Privateering not being the object of the voyage, and the Spaniard making an apology for firing, declaring

that, not being able to distinguish the British colours in the night, he had taken the Mercury for a French privateer, his vessel was allowed to proceed on her voyage*.

Shortly after this encounter, the British schooner arrived at the port of Trinidad, where the commissioner immediately waited upon the Governor of the place, and, informing him that he had dispatches from Lord Balcarres to Don Luis de las Casas at the Havanna, requested to be provided with pilots for the passage of the Jardines to Batabano. He was very politely received, and assured that the pilots should be ready *maniana*, that is, to-morrow. To-morrow, however, a grand ball was given

* This schooner, which was in a complete state for cruising, went on to Kingston in Jamaica, and was there transferred to a set of men little better than banditti, who embarked to make the most of the chances afforded them at sea. The Spaniard laid out his dollars for British goods, which he shipped on board other vessels.

in honour of the arrival of the commissioner, who was so ill that he could hardly walk, having, as we have seen, left Jamaica with a fever on him: but Spanish politeness admitted of no refusal. A large long-tail mule, caparisoned with a demi-peak saddle, immense gilt stirrups, and a large gilt bit to the bridle, and almost hid by a red laced holster-cap and housings, was dispatched with a number of lanterns and music, to bring him up to the house of an officer of high rank, Don Tomas Munios, where he received the greatest attention, and was informed by his Excellency the Governor, that the pilots should be ready *maniana*. No pilots making their appearance the next day, the commissioner gently complained to the Governor, who laid the blame upon the naval officer, and promised that the fault should be remedied *maniana*. Maniana was again attended with disappointment: a Spanish officer of great distinction, from the Castle of Xagua, sent his compliments,

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with a message to the British Colonel, informing him that he and his officers would dine with him on board his vessel. The next day the naval officer found it his duty, and asked permission to search among the crew of the schooner, to ascertain if any of them were registered at or belonged to the port of Trinidad; but this was peremptorily refused: it caused, however, the delay of that day. The commissioner, had again recourse to the Governor, who urged him to postpone his voyage one day more, pledging his honour at the same time that the pilots should be on board the schooner *maniana*: this he accompanied with the request of a particular favour, which at last accounted for the detention of the schooner. Five small vessels, loaded with the king's duties, paid in sugar and tobacco, were getting ready to sail when the Mercury arrived at the port, and being now prepared, the Governor entreated the commissioner to take them under convoy to Batabano. To this he consented with pleasure,

pleasure, not only from his disposition to oblige persons who had treated him with distinction, but because he saw that the circumstance would give farther weight to the consideration he expected at the capital of the island. Several officers and gentlemen* availed themselves of this opportunity of going round to the Havanna, having waited months at Trinidad for a safe conveyance. Among them was the Governor's son, a young officer about eighteen years of age, whom his father requested the commissioner to take charge of to the Havanna, at the same time

* One of them, Don Tomas Munios, displayed a spirit of gratitude that reflects the highest honour upon himself, and upon human nature. Some time after, a Jamaica merchant named Robinson, going from Kingston to Savannah-la-mar with a cargo, was taken by a Spanish privateer and carried into the port of Trinidad. Having mentioned that he was acquainted with the commissioner, it was told to Don Tomas Munios, who immediately took him out of the prison where he had been lodged, entertained him at his own house, furnished him with money, and afterwards procured him a vessel to return to Jamaica without being exchanged as a prisoner.

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giving the youth leave to accompany him to Jamaica.

It seems that a French privateer schooner of fourteen guns had been cruizing within the isle of Pines, taking every thing that attempted the passage of the Jardines. By some small craft, which had arrived the day before through a very intricate and shallow passage, information was received that the privateer was then lying under Point Gordo, at the extremity of the passage. Relying upon this intelligence, every possible preparation was made for securing the convoy and engaging the privateer, and the naval officer then presented two pilots to the commissioner, desiring him to hang them both if his vessel ran aground. The passage was extremely intricate, and the pilots were placed one at the helm, and the other at the foretop-mast-head. The schooner, though drawing only ten feet four inches water, brought up a line of disturbed mud astern during the

the greater part of the first day. At night, she anchored with the convoy, and next morning proceeded at day-dawn. About ten o'clock she made Point Gordo, when there appeared, about half a mile off, an armed schooner lying at anchor with her foremast unrigged, and two boats with a number of men on the beach, evidently a part of the crew. The opportunity for destroying her being very favourable, the convoy was ordered to proceed under an easy sail, while the Mercury hauled up close under the stern of the schooner at anchor. The two boats full of men were now pulling off with the greatest expedition, and it was thought right to cut up the vessel before the men could get on board; accordingly a broadside was poured in, but the guns being too much elevated, she suffered more in her rigging than in her hull. Soon after the discharge, all her hands got in; it was, however, impossible for her to have escaped had it been her intention; and the British schooner having
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put about, was preparing to give her another broadside, when she fortunately displayed Spanish colours, calling out to the Mercury at the same time to stop *for the love of God*. On this the Mercury again brought up under her stern, when a boat came alongside with an officer, who informed the commissioner that the vessel belonged to the King of Spain, and had only come out of port the day before, in company with another schooner, which was to be seen to leeward, in order to take a French privateer that had been cruising on that part of the coast. An interchange of civilities followed this explanation; after which the Mercury bore up for her convoy, and passing close by the other schooner, arrived the same evening at the port of Batabano. This little straggling town, or rather village, is situated near a morass of three miles, that separates it from the sea, with which it communicates by a small causeway almost covered with water. In the town a company of infantry was stationed,

tioned, with a detachment of horse for the purpose of carrying expresses. The commanding officer, on being shown the address of the commissioner's dispatches, provided him with four horses for himself, his companion, and their servants. He likewise gave them a guard of two dragoons, in compliment to the military rank of the commissioner, and perhaps partly for the purpose of serving as spies, to attend them to the capital, through Besucal, a town in the mountains on the road to the Havanna. The commissioner was accompanied a considerable part of the way by twenty *califeros*, or mule drivers, with two hundred mules and horses, laden with the King's duties, which he had convoyed in safety to the port of Batabano.

Such is the adherence of the Spaniards to old habits and practices, or such their inveterate indolence, that although the road across the country to the Havanna is
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very practicable for a carriage, and with little trouble might be made a very fine one, they had no mode of conveying the cargoes of the five vessels arrived from Trinidad but on pack-horses and mules. The greatest part of the trade from the south side of Cuba to the Havanna is carried on in the same manner, which the traders usually prefer to the risk attending the navigation by Cape Antonio and the Colorados, at the west end of the island, where they frequently suffer losses. From the same supine spirit it is that the port of Xagua, twenty miles to the westward of Trinidad, is almost entirely neglected. It might be made the finest harbour in the world. A narrow entrance, sixty-two feet deep, and a hundred yards wide, is defended by a castle on a rock. The basin within is nearly a circle, of a diameter of nine miles; the land rises high all round in an easy ascent, sheltering it from every wind, and an inexhaustible quantity of the largest cedars on the earth grows from the
summits

summits of the hills to the water's edge. No axe ever touches them, except that of some miserable fisherman, who fells a tree of a middling size, the nearest at hand, to excavate it for a canoe.

The commissioner and his friend, with their retinue, arrived late at night at Besucal, where fatigue and the fever, which continued on Colonel Quarrell, made the very first house an acceptable place of rest. A cow-hide stretched upon a frame, with a mat, pillow, and sheet upon it, was all the bedding it afforded. Satisfied with this couch, the commissioner retired to rest; but had scarcely lain down, when he was surprised by a numerous attendance of visitors, full dressed, who had been incited, some by civility and others by curiosity, to hasten to this miserable petty inn. Better accommodation was offered by several hidalgos to the commissioner, who was now so ill as not to be able to

move again that night, which he regretted much, as among the invitations given him he received one from the lady paramount of the place, the *Marquisa de St. Philippe et St. Jago*, who had commissioned a French officer, on parole at Besucal, supposing that French was more familiar to the stranger than Spanish, to say that her palace and services were at the command of the English officer. Next day, however, he availed himself of the flattering offer, though he could not but smile at the parade and pomp with which the invitation was attended. Passing through a considerable town, about a mile in length, he arrived at a very large house, externally not much unlike a prison, but the interior of which had every thing to render it agreeable, and was in some respects grand. The Spaniard whose conversation had given rise to the expedition, and whom the commissioner had taken as a guide, had told him that he was a native of this place, and that his family were some of

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the very people he was in search of. In this statement he had strictly adhered to truth, and on his arrival lost no time in imparting to his particular friends the business on which he was come home. He had arrived at Besucal before the commissioner, and had fully paved the way with the Marquisa for the enterprise that was the object of the expedition.

The Marquisa received the commissioner and his friend with great politeness, and entertained them most hospitably and kindly. By means of the guide, whose name was Pedrasso, and who also acted as interpreter, she was informed of the horrid war waged by the Maroons in Jamaica against the white inhabitants; and the barbarities of it were strongly represented to her, in order that the impression made upon her mind might interest her the more in favour of the mission to Cuba. She was told, that if the people could only be guarded against surprises, the Maroons

would soon lose all their arrogance, and sue for peace; that the dispatches to Don Luis de las Casas would, no doubt, ensure permission for purchasing some dogs; and that, with her aid, a few of the Besucal people might be induced to go with them to Jamaica. The proclamations offering rewards for killing or taking the Maroons were then read to her. The Marquisa attended very graciously to the recital of these circumstances; and observing that the rewards offered were of themselves sufficient to procure a number of her people with their dogs, added, that her influence should not be wanting to instigate some of the best of the chasseurs to attend the commissioner on his return.

Besucal is an extensive town, containing about 5000 inhabitants, two-thirds of whom are mulattoes, quadroons, and other mixed grades between the white and black. This place, with the surrounding country to an extent of many miles every way, including

including the towns of St. Philippe and St. Jago, is immediately under the government of the Marquisa, who holds a distinct jurisdiction, over which the Government at the Havanna has no control. The various powers, which are there vested in different hands, are here all centered in hers. She holds independent courts, and exercises supreme authority in whatever relates to the internal administration of affairs in her franchise, which she enjoys as an hereditary right. The amount of her revenues is unknown; but it is said that she is exceedingly rich. The mildness of her government renders the people very happy; none of them, however, in any of her towns appear to be very opulent, yet the churches are richly endowed, and among them are several convents. The Marquisa has a numerous retinue, and lives in some state, though less splendidly since the departure of the Marquis her husband, passing a greater portion of her time in retirement during

his absence. Rights nearly sovereign, and an immense fortune, added to the personal beauty and uncommon charms both of face and mind with which the Marquisa was endowed, engaged the attention of a young nobleman of high rank, to whom she was married at the early age of fourteen. At the time of the commissioner's arrival, the Marquis, who was said to be rather gay and dissipated, was at Madrid, where he had an appointment at court, and whither he had gone about four years before, to attend to a law-suit. This he had gained, but royal notice, and the luxuries of the capital of Spain, seemed to possess attractions too powerful to suffer his return to Besucal. He had written repeated assurances of setting out for home, which had been as repeatedly forgotten. His son, a youth sixteen years of age, was hereditary colonel of a regiment with which he was on duty at Metanzos. The Marquisa's domestic circle was then small, consisting of her daughter, who was six years old, and

and her cousin, a girl of sixteen. Her confessor was constantly in the house, and with Monsieur L'Epée, the French officer whom she sent to invite the commissioner, frequently constituted the whole party at the palace. She was desirous of detaining the commissioner for some time, but admitted of his apology for leaving her, on the promise of a longer stay when he returned. He accordingly left Besucal, in company with his friend, as speedily as possible, and, taking with him his guide Pedrasso, arrived about the 3d of November at the Havanna, where he was received in a very flattering manner by Don Luis de las Casas, who, as was usual among men of rank in that country, was profuse of civility, offering his purse, and a constant cover at his table. He readily complied with the request contained in the commissioner's dispatches, granting permission to make the purchases required; and adding with great urbanity, that from respect to Lord Batcarres, he should on

the present occasion overlook an injunction of his court, against admitting foreigners within his government, the only exception to which was in favour of those traders who came with new negroes *.

* Votes of the Assembly of Jamaica, 1796. See Appendix, No. 2.

LETTER X.

News of Peace between France and Spain.—Jealousy of the Officers in Administration at the Havanna.—Character of the Governor.—Mutiny on board the Mercury.—How quelled.—Doctor Dominguez.—Proclamation relative to the Rewards for taking Maroons translated, and sent into the Mountains of Besucal.—Description of the Person of a Spanish Lawyer.—Account of the Chasseurs del Rey.—Instance of their taking Assassins who had plundered an English Ship.—Description of the Men and Dogs.—Those of Besucal.—Employment, Mode of Pursuit, and Manner of Living.—Dress of a Chasseur.—Articles of Agreement entered into with the Chasseurs.

THE day before the commissioner reached the Havanna, news had arrived by a circuitous route of the peace that had been concluded between France and Spain; but as the port had been long blocked up, so

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that

that few vessels had entered, and none from Europe, the particulars of the treaty were unknown. The commissioner was the first who supplied them with the articles of it, and the joy they spread was unbounded. The merchants rejoiced that their ships could once more go to sea with safety, and the priests were happy in an occasion to display their devotion and their pageantry. The joyous event was celebrated with military parade and religious processions. Nothing else was thought of. At the grand cathedral, three whole days were spent in prayers for the souls of those who had fallen in the war. When, however, the emotions of pleasure began to subside, they were mingled with apprehensions of the consequence of entering into a separate treaty of peace; the resentment of the English was foreboded, and the great and only dread was a war with England.

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No civilized people are so profoundly ignorant of the politics of other nations, and so little informed of their own, as the Spaniards in general. They both hate and dread the French; to the English they have no objection, but on the score of religion; and they have charity enough to regret that a people in other respects so good should be damned: for their Gallic friends they have no such charity.

Although the consideration which Don Luis de las Casas had shown for Lord Balcarres was expressed merely as a polite attention, he would have been justified in making a merit of it; for the Governors of the Havanna are placed in a very ticklish situation. It has always been the petty policy of the Spanish court to keep up a jealousy among the different officers of the higher departments in the colonies, encouraging them to lodge complaints and informations against one another; for which reason the Governor, Intendant of
Marine,

Marine, Chief Judge, and other superior officers, are seldom known to be on good terms. Had it been possible, so worthy and honourable a character as Don Luis must have conciliated all parties, and he apparently stood well with all: but while his heart assured him that he was entitled to their cordiality, his information and wisdom taught him to distinguish appearance from reality. This nobleman, who held the rank of Lieutenant-General in Spain, was an excellent and experienced officer, and had been trained in the service of his country on the continent of Europe. He was suspected of a tendency to republican principles, though not of Jacobinism; and it has been thought owing to this suspicion, that he was precluded from the usual succession of the Governors of the Havanna, first to the Vice-Royalty of Santa Fé, and afterwards to that of Mexico: for he had received notice that he was to be appointed to the command of the troops in Pampeluna, which was by
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no means considered as an adequate mark of the favour his rank, character, and merit, entitled him to expect from the Spanish government. The commissioner, apprized of the situation in which Don Luis stood, regulated his conduct accordingly, in order to avoid every ground of umbrage or jealousy that might arise from any marked attentions of the Governor towards him. He only returned the visits he received, and at such times as he knew few people would be at the Government house.

The commissioner had been but a very short time at the Havanna, when he received an express from the captain of his schooner at Batabano, informing him that the crew were in a mutinous state, and that it was to be feared they had a design of running away with the vessel. The captain and the three British seamen on board were living in a state of siege. They had possession of the cabin, where
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they remained with their small arms, having turned the two after-guns to command the deck forward, and having secured the bulkheads below. No assistance was to be obtained from the few small guarda costas in the port, who were afraid of a banditti that neither acknowledged, nor was acknowledged, by any government; rascals that cared not against what country they fought so they could but plunder. Had it been the intention of the agent who provided the schooner, to defeat the object of the expedition, nothing could have been more effectual than embarking so villanous a crew; but it must be remembered that the schooner was dispatched in haste, and that British seamen were not at the time to be obtained. On receiving the express from Batabano, the commissioner immediately applied to the Governor, and obtained permission to engage such British seamen as he could procure at the Havana. Losing no time, he was soon able to dispatch eighteen picked men across the country

country on horseback, with guides; and they fortunately arrived in time to save the vessel. Four ringleaders of the mutiny were sent ashore; at the head of them a villain named Coro, who, it now appeared, had committed several horrid murders, and the last just before he entered on board the schooner. Had it not been for the dissensions between the Spaniards and the Curaçoa men, the vessel would certainly have been carried off, before the British tars could have reached Batabano. The fierce vagabonds were continually fighting, and frequently wounded each other with long sharp knives, of which each had one always stuck in his belt. Scenes of this kind were perpetually recurring during the passage from Jamaica, and it was as dangerous to interpose in their broils as difficult to pacify the passionate savages. The commissioner, however, with the assistance of Captain Gilpin, had managed to keep them under some command, which
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in their absence the captain of the schooner found impossible.

Another occurrence took place at this time, which added greatly to the commissioner's solicitude respecting the issue of his expedition; his faithful guide, Pedrasso, fell sick of the yellow fever. The poor fellow was in very imminent danger, but recovered, owing his life to the great attention and skill of a medical gentleman, settled at the Havanna, named Dominguez. And here, my friend, to make you acquainted with Doctor Dominguez, I must digress a little: not that I mean to imitate the writings of Sterne, who, a great imitator himself, has had but too many sub-imitators. But I hope that the few digressions I admit in the task I have undertaken, will neither seem unconnected, nor prove unamusing. Doctor Dominguez is a young Scotchman, perhaps the only one of the name Scotland could ever boast; but be that as it may, he reflected honour
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on his country, where he had received a liberal education. Like many others of the sons of Caledonia, it was the sole gift he received from her; but then it was one of the highest value, far above fortune or rank without it; and, to the eternal honour of Caledonia, it is a gift she bestows on almost all her children. Sent into the world to seek his fortune, he was, by some inducement, unknown to me, led to try it among the Spaniards in Cuba, where, having evinced his skill, he was at first employed in the care of several estates in the country. These he was soon obliged to relinquish through the jealousy of the Spanish practitioners. One of them, about a year before, attempted to assassinate him in his bed, which the villain supposed he had completed, having cut his throat and given him several wounds. Fortunately they were not mortal; using therefore every caution to preserve life, he made the best of his way to the Havanna, where he was charitably received by a gentleman

to whom he was a little known. The greatest care was taken of him, and he was even attended by the daughter of his host: nor did the young lady remit her attentions in the smiling stages of his convalescence, for the doctor-patient was not only learned, but agreeable and handsome. One evening the young signora was found by her parents sitting on his bed, but not administering physic. A pretty situation for an Iberian miss! The doctor roundly asseverated the purity of his lovely nurse, the nurse blushed and blubbered, while the intruding Spaniard and his wife were loud for saving a daughter's honour. It was in vain that the young Paracelsus protested his own innocence, as well as the virtue of the damsel; nothing but a marriage would convince the old people of either. "But my name, country, and religion, signor," said the Caledonian. "Become a Spaniard," replied the father. "Change your name," said the mother. "He is half a catholic already," added the amiable Leonora,

nora, wiping away her tears. The girl was beautiful, the family was powerful, and the Doctor thought the marriage a much preferable risk to that of his throat being cut a second time. He married the handsome Spaniard, dropped his own name, Halliday, and took that of Dominguez. Protected by the influence of his wife's family in the exercise of his profession at the Havanna, his merit soon established the highest reputation, exciting the jealousy of the Spanish physicians, who, though they spare his throat, oppose and thwart him, and do all they can to prejudice their countrymen against him. He was peculiarly successful in treating the yellow fever, and had written a treatise on the subject, which it was his intention to send to England to be printed*. But whatever the

* Dr. Halliday, or Dominguez, published his Treatise upon the Yellow Fever, with the successful mode in which he had treated it at the Havanna. It was tried, but not with the same success, in Jamaica. The failure there, however, is not a good reason for doubting its success in

the merit of the professor, the profession itself was not much respected among the Spaniards. They suffered their maladies to take their course too long, frequently calling in Dominguez and the Bon Dieu together, and generally both too late.

The schooner being now secured by the British seamen sent across the country, the commissioner bent his thoughts upon procuring chasseurs as speedily as possible. The proclamations offering rewards for

Cuba, as the Faculty admit that habit and constitution may dispose the disorder to less virulence in some people than in others. That this difference should prevail among the Spanish seamen is not to be wondered at, when we consider, in the first instance, their habits of temperance; and in the next, that in their change of climate from the ports in Old Spain to those of Cuba, the most northerly of the West India islands, except the Bahamas, the difference of climate is by no means such as from Britain to Jamaica. The principle of Dr. Halliday's practice was approved, but the rapid progress of the disorder among the British in Jamaica, was such as not to admit of a preparation so tardy, or even of any, before the more powerful checks were applied.

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taking Maroons were translated into Spanish, and dispatched to the mountains of Befucal, and a confidential lawyer was employed to draw up articles of agreement with the chasseurs. Let no man judge by appearance: that of this son of the quill was much against him. He was a very tall, meagre, swarthy man, of the colour of a mulatto; his long greasy black hair was queued in a tail of three feet in length; his coat of brimstone colour, hung very low, and buttoned over like a furtout. In short, he might have been taken for an officer of the holy order of St. Hermadad, or an advocate for the Court of Inquisition. He proved, however, to be less a *maniana* man than the commissioner had feared; for on being well paid for the expedition, he completed the articles of agreement in tolerable good time. They were dispatched by Pedrasso, and being supported by the influence of the good Marquisa, operated admirably on the chasseurs. It was fortunate that there was no circulation of

newspapers in this part of the world, and that the knowledge of the events of one place is not speedily conveyed to another, as in the end it would have embarrassed, if not totally overthrown, the commissioner's views. The people at the Havana knew no more what was passing at Befucal, than they did of the occurrences at Pekin.

The commissioner every where met with the greatest hospitality, and received the politest attentions from the most respectable families. He was particularly obliged to an English Guinea-merchant, named Allwood, residing at the Havana, through whose influence with persons of the highest rank and appointments he had great advantages, many interesting themselves in promoting his views. One of them, Don Manuel de Seias, the Alcade Provinciale, commanded about six and thirty chasseurs, who were in the King's pay. The employment of these is to

traverse the country for the purpose of pursuing and taking up all persons guilty of murder and other offences, in which they seldom fail of success, no activity on the part of the offenders being able to elude their pursuit. An extraordinary instance occurred about a month before the commissioner arrived at the Havanna. A fleet from Jamaica, under convoy to Great Britain, passing through the gulf of Mexico, beat up on the north side of Cuba. One of the ships, manned with foreigners, chiefly *mal-negado* Spaniards, being a dull sailer, and consequently lagging astern, standing in with the land at night, was run on shore, the captain, officers, and the few British hands on board murdered, and the vessel plundered by the Spanish renegadoes. The part of the coast on which the vessel was stranded, being wild and unfrequented, the assassins retired with their booty to the mountains, intending to penetrate through the woods to some remote settlements on the south side, where they

hoped to secure themselves, and elude all pursuit. Early intelligence of the crime, however, had been conveyed to the Havana, and the assassins were pursued by a detachment of twelve of the Chasseurs del Rey, with their dogs. In a few days they were all brought in and executed. The head and right arm of each were suspended in frames, not unlike parrot-cages, which were hung on various gibbets, at the port and other conspicuous places on the coast, near the entrance of the harbour.

The dogs carried out by the Chasseurs del Rey are perfectly broken in, that is to say, they will not kill the object they pursue unless resisted. On coming up with a fugitive, they bark at him till he stops, they then couch near him, terrifying him with a ferocious growling if he stirs. In this position they continue barking to give notice to the chasseurs, who come up and secure their prisoner. Each chasseur, though

he can hunt only with two dogs properly, is obliged to have three, which he maintains at his own cost, and that at no small expence. These people live with their dogs, from which they are inseparable. At home the dogs are kept chained, and when walking with their masters, are never unmuzzled, or let out of ropes, but for attack. They are constantly accompanied with one or two small dogs called finders, whose scent is very keen, and always sure of hitting off a track. Dogs and bitches hunt equally well, and the chasseurs rear no more than will supply the number required. This breed of dogs, indeed, is not so prolific as the common kinds, though infinitely stronger and hardier. The animal is the size of a very large hound, with ears erect, which are usually cropped at the points; the nose more pointed, but widening very much towards the after-part of the jaw. His coat, or skin, is much harder than that of most dogs, and so must be the whole structure
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of the body, as the severe beatings he undergoes in training would kill any other species of dog. There are some, but not many, of a more obtuse nose, and which are rather squarer set. These, it may be presumed, have been crossed by the mastiff, but if by this the bulk has been a little increased, it has added nothing to the strength, height, beauty, or agility, of the native breed.

The chasseur has no other weapon than a long strait muschet, or couteau, longer than a dragoon's sword, and twice as thick, something like a flat iron bar sharpened at the lower end, of which about eighteen inches are as sharp as a razor. The point is not unlike the old Roman sword. The steel of them is excellent, and made at Guanabacoa, about three miles from the Havanna. The handle of the muschet is without a guard, but scolloped to admit the fingers and suit the grasp. These men, as we have seen, are under an officer of high

high rank, the Alcade Provinciale, and receive a good pay from the Government, besides private rewards for particular and extraordinary services. They are a very hardy, brave, and desperate set of people, scrupulously honest, and remarkably faithful.

A body of men of the same description and character reside at Besucal, within the Marquisa's jurisdiction. These are not in the King's pay, but are chiefly employed, like the Maroons in Jamaica, in scouring the mountains of this extensive country to take runaways, for which they have a fixed reward, and to attack all bodies of negroes collected for hostile purposes, which is sometimes occasioned by the rigour exercised on the Spanish plantations: for although in other employments, and particularly in domestic service, the slaves are treated kindly, and live a very easy life, it must be owned that the state of slavery on the settlements is not
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unattended with severity. The greatest commotions, however, have been occasioned by Spanish piety. Many of the largest and best sugar estates in the island of Cuba belong to the different ecclesiastical orders, who are the most rapacious of planters. Under the mask of discouraging a vicious intercourse with the sexes, some of them religiously resolved to purchase only male negroes; a devout austerity imposed upon the poor fellows, which, would the good Fathers candidly confess it, would appear to originate in the temporal policy of *Quærenda pecunia primum est*, it being thought that men can do more work than women. Deprived of connexions resulting from one of the chief laws of nature, and driven to desperation, the unhappy negroes, not unlike the first Romans, have been known to fly to neighbouring estates, seize on the women, and carry them off to the mountains. There, in order to secure and defend themselves, they fell upon some Spaniards, killed them,

them, and thus procuring a few fire arms, lances, and cutlasses, attempted to make a resistance against the laws: but in vain; a few of the Besucal people, with their dogs, have always proved an overmatch for them.

The activity of the chasseurs no negro on earth can elude; and such is their temperance, that with a few ounces of salt for each, they can support themselves for whole months on the vegetable and farinaceous food afforded by the woods. They drink nothing stronger than water, with which, when at a distance from springs, they are constantly supplied by the wild pine, by the black and grape withes, which are about two inches in diameter, and the roots of the cotton-tree. Of the last, six feet junked off the smaller part of the root, where it tapers to the thickness of a man's thigh, will yield several gallons of water. In the greatest drought these resources seldom fail. For the wild pine they are

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obliged

obliged to climb trees; but that they do almost with the velocity of a monkey. This plant takes root on the body of a tree, and the leaves of it are so formed as to catch the rain and conduct it to a reservoir at the base, where being never exposed to the sun, it is found delightfully fresh and cool. But the easiest method of obtaining water in the woods, and with less delay on a march, is from the black and grape withes: it is done with greater expedition than drinking at a spring. The chasseur catches a pendent withe, which, with his muschet, he divides about two feet from the ground, and applies the end of the withe, as it hangs, to his mouth, or to his dog's, who indicates his thirst: he then cuts the withe off, about six feet higher, keeping the upper end elevated, when the air being admitted above, he receives through the porous fibres of it near a quart of delightful cold water. With respect to animal food, if any of them happen to desire it, they find no
diffi-

difficulty in obtaining it. The little finder, if set on, but not otherwise, will soon bay one of the wild hogs with which the woods abound; the animal, retreating for shelter to the trunk of a tree, is immediately transfixcd with a lance. The men cure as much of the flesh as they think they will have occasion for, by scoring it internally to the skin, sprinkling it with salt, and smoking it; over the smoke they throw some aromatic leaves, which not only add to its flavour, but assist in preserving it. The meat thus cured will keep for months, and is esteemed a very great dainty by the most refined Epicures. It is in fact the jerked hog, already mentioned in the account of the Maroon mode of life. The part of the hog not preserved is given to the dogs. The pursuit of the game is entirely the province of the finder; the larger dogs, from their training, would pass a hog without notice; were one of them to bark at a hog, he would be severely punished. The chasseurs beat their dogs most unmercifully,

cifully, using the flat sides of their heavy muschets. When they are going out on service, the large chains in which they are kept at home are taken off, and a light, but well-twisted, cotton-rope substituted, to which the muzzle and collar joined together are attached at one end, while the other is fixed to the belt of the chasseur; who, when a pursuit is to be made, slips them off, securing them round his waist with the rope to which they are tied, draws his muschet, and pushes forward nearly as fast as his dogs; for the latter are impeded by the underwood. They are sometimes so entangled as to require the assistance of their masters to cut their way through the difficulty which obstructs their proceeding. The greatest privation felt by a chasseur in service is the want of a segar, which he must not use in the woods, where the scent, from the freshness of the trees and stillness of the air, continues long suspended, and is gradually spread in the atmosphere, by which the company could
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not but be betrayed, in spite of the great silence which they observe on their marches. At other times the segar is hardly ever out of their mouths.

I must now complete your idea of a Spanish chasseur, by giving you a description of his dress. You may imagine it will be brief, for the wearer is not a man of fashion, and he lives beneath a vertical sun. A check shirt open at the collar so as to expose the neck, from which hangs a small crucifix; a wide pair of trowsers, also check: a straw hat, or rather one manufactured of the morals thatch divided into small filaments, seven or eight inches in the rim, with a shallow round crown, and very light; add his belt and sword, already described, and a pair of untanned leather shoes. Into this dress put a man with a Spanish countenance, swarthy but animated, a person above the middle size, thin but not meagre: to his belt affix the cotton ropes, and imagine them attached by collars round the

necks of his dogs, and you will have a finished picture of him.

Besides his untanned shoe, the chasseur often contrives in the woods a curious defence for his feet, which is greatly preferable. Having skinned the thighs and hocks of the wild hog, he thrusts his foot into the raw hide as far as he can force it, then cuts a small slip at the instep, and with his knife takes off the superfluous skin behind, adapting the remainder to his ankle and the lower part of his leg. The pliant hide takes the shape of a close short half boot, fitting like a glove on the foot, with a lengthened useless projection beyond the toe, something resembling the modern fashion of our beaux. This contrivance will last a march of weeks, or months; but once taken off, the skin dries, shrivels, and becomes useless. There are *porco zopatos* made of dried hides, that reach to the calf of the leg; but they

they are wide, hard, and not pliant to the feet.

The Befucal chaffeurs had not above seventy dogs properly broke; the others, of which they had many, though of the same breed, will kill the object they pursue: they fly at the throat, or other part of a man, and never quit their hold, till they are cut in two. These dogs, however, are seldom, if ever, carried out till perfectly trained.

The articles of agreement between the commissioner and the chaffeurs were as follows:

“ Don Guillermo Dawes Quarrell, Lieutenant-colonel of Militia, and his Britannic Majesty's Commissary, on the one part, and the undersigned individuals on the other, have agreed to the following articles:

“ 1st. That we, the undersigned, oblige ourselves to go to the island of Jamaica, taking each three dogs, for the hunting and seizing negroes.

“ 2^d. That, when arrived at the said island, and informed of the situation of the runaway or rebellious negroes, we oblige ourselves to practice every means that may be necessary to pursue, and apprehend with our dogs, said rebellious negroes; settling beforehand the proper time and mode of our excursions with that government, who are to supply us with every assistance that may be judged necessary, such as troops, arms, and ammunition.

“ 3^d. That our stay in the said island shall be three months, counted from the day of our embarking at Batabano; and for our services during which time we are to be allowed two hundred dollars each; one hundred of which is to be paid down,

down, and the other at the expiration of the three months.

“ *4th.* That besides the two hundred dollars above stipulated, all our expences of maintenance, in sickness or in health, shall be borne by the said D. Guillermo Dawes Quarrell, or the Government of Jamaica, from the time we embark at Batabano to our return to the said place. ”

“ *5th.* That if, at the expiration of our being three months in the island of Jamaica, that Government should consider our residence there for a longer time necessary, it then shall be at our option to make a new agreement ; and in case any of us may wish to return immediately, that Government then shall provide us with a passage to Batabano.

“ *6th.* That being informed that the Government of Jamaica offers a reward of 960 dollars for apprehending any of the

rebellious negroes, agreeable to proclamation published in that island; we hereby agree to submit ourselves to such repartition as that Government may make of such reward betwixt us and the auxiliary troops that may assist us, this reward being totally independent of those expressed in the third and fourth articles.

“ And, having unanimously agreed to all the foregoing articles, we promise to abide by them faithfully and exactly; and furthermore, that we will all of us, with our dogs, be at Batabano on the evening of the 1st of December, ready to embark*.”

These articles being drawn up according to the wish and intentions of the chafseurs, the commissioner was eager to have them executed by the parties, and to fulfil the clause which bound him to make an immediate advance of a hundred dollars

* Votes of the House of Assembly.

each. He dispatched the money on mules to the mountains of Besucal, and, flattering himself that he had made such arrangements as would secure a safe and easy clearance from the port of Batabano, prepared to leave the Havanna.

LETTER XI.

A respectable Interpreter unacquainted with any Language.

—Don Luis refuses the number of Chasseurs required.

—The Commissioner detained by the Consulat. — Leaves the Havanna, and returns to Besucal. — Hospitality and Assistance of the Marquisa de St. Felipe et St. Jago.

—The Chasseurs proceed with their dogs to a Rendezvous near Batabano. — The Commissioner leaves Besucal. —

Finds the Officer at Batabano relieved by a Mexican Lieutenant. — Monsieur L'Epée accompanies the Com-

missioner. — The Chasseurs refuse to embark. — Cause of their Refusal. — The Mexican sends an Express to the

Governor. — The Commissioner guarded. — Measures taken by him to escape from Cuba with the Chasseurs.

Their Scruples removed. — Amusements during the Commissioner's Detention. — Escape and Embarkation

with the Chasseurs. — Pursued by two Guarda Costas. — The Schooner in danger of Shipwreck. — Crocodillos

at Cayo Blanco. — The Chasseurs endeavour to compel the Commissioner to go into Trinidad. — The Schooner

bears away for Jamaica. — Chases a French Privateer. — Arrives at Montego Bay. — Fired upon by the Fort.

—The Chasseurs and Dogs landed. — The Commissioner's Reception.

By the interest of Mr. Allwood with the colonel of a regiment, a detachment of
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of which was on duty under a captain at Batabano, matters were so arranged, that the commissioner on his arrival there, was to be permitted to pass without any inquiry or interruption. He therefore conceived the greatest difficulty removed; and, meeting the Governor at a public entertainment, informed him of his intention to leave the Havanna. When the commissioner was first presented to Don Luis de las Casas, he had unluckily made choice of a worthless fellow for an interpreter, whom the Governor did not think it necessary to employ, requesting the commissioner to speak English, which, though Don Luis could not speak fluently, he understood sufficiently well: he conversed in French himself, and in this manner all communications between them continued to be easily made. Previous to the commissioner's mentioning his departure to the Governor, he had been dining in company, where speaking of the English-French conversation he had with his Excellency, an old German

German officer, commandant at the Punto, offered to go with him as interpreter when he was to take leave. The offer amused the company, and was accepted by the commissioner, who in the evening jocularly told the Governor, that he had found a more respectable interpreter, whom he would bring with him next day, as he purposed to wait upon his Excellency for any dispatches he might choose to honour him with for Lord Balcarres. Next day, at the appointed hour, the German colonel called on the commissioner, full dressed, to accompany him to the Government House, where, on his being introduced, Don Luis said with a smile, he presumed that he was not the interpreter meant. Being assured he was, and upon a voluntary offer, the Governor laughed heartily: "I never understand much," said he, "of what Frederic attempts to communicate to me in any language, particularly in Spanish. He is almost as unintelligible in French, and has lived so long out of his own country,

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that

that he has even forgot his mother tongue: in short, Frederic does not know a language upon earth; and as his assistance is not very necessary, we will pursue our usual mode."

Having received his dispatches, the commissioner, rendered too confident by the attention which had been shown him, applied to Don Luis to be allowed to add to his passport the names of a few men to accompany the dogs, and presented a list of twenty. Far from consenting, the Governor expressed surprise at the commissioner's supposing he would sanction the recruiting of men in the dominions of his Catholic Majesty, and particularly in favour of a Power at war with another with which a treaty of peace was just concluded. For the purpose, however, of taking care of the dogs that had been purchased, he consented to their being attended by about six men. Though the commissioner had bought only six or eight dogs,

dogs, he had received about as many more in presents from some of the gentlemen of high rank by whom he had been hospitably entertained; and on his representing that ten would be absolutely necessary to manage the dogs, Don Luis was induced to allow names to that number, selected by the commissioner, to be inserted in the passport, which he signed; and the commissioner, after expressing his sense of the honourable and kind treatment he had received, took his leave. He was now extremely anxious to set out on his return; but he found the people as expert at *maniana* here as in Trinidad, and was doomed to master his impatience at a bull-fight, prepared to entertain and delay him, while the members of the Consulat, or Council of Agriculture, Commerce, and Navigation, were engaged in framing a proposal to be made to the Government of Jamaica, for erecting light-houses, at the joint expence of the two islands, in order to render the navigation of the coast of Cuba and gulf of Mexico

Mexico safer*. The business, however, was soon finished, the Commissioner left the Havanna, and, arriving at Besucal, received a gratifying welcome from the generous Marquisa.

The articles of agreement being executed by all parties, that is to say, by the commissioner and thirty chasseurs, and the advance money being paid on the part of the island of Jamaica, the commissioner became impatient of the least delay, and urged the chasseurs to make the best of their way to the rendezvous appointed, which was at a small island in the morass to the east of the town of Batabano, near the port. They were not quite so eager; and instead of hastening away, they petitioned the Marquisa to allow them to have a little play, by which they meant gambling. This the Marquisa peremptorily refused, telling them, at the same time,

* Votes of the House of Assembly of Jamaica, 1796.
See Appendix, No. 2.

that

that it was incumbent upon them to leave the advance they had received with their wives and families; and instead of gambling, they were directed to have a dance. The Marquisa herself condescended not only to be present, but to dance a minuet in order to open the ball; for it seems, whenever it is known that she is to be present on any of these occasions, nothing is done till she arrives, and till she honours the assembly, whether composed of high or low, with walking a minuet; she then, having made the party happy, takes her seat as a spectatress. The commissioner and Captain Gilpin were suddenly apprized of their being expected to accompany the Marquisa and her cousin to the ball-room; which they did, escorted by a great number of men walking with lanterns in a row on each side. On arriving, they found the room full of company, with the chaf-seurs among them. It was hinted to the commissioner, that he was expected to walk the minuet with the Marquisa. Dressed
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à la militaire, in boots, and for some time past not much addicted to dancing, he would gladly have been spared the exhibition; however, a soldier's uniform was excusable, and good humour and address supplied the place of gestic lore. He went through a minuet both with the Marquisa and her cousin, as his companion was not to be prevailed upon to sport his toe. They then took their seats by the Marquisa, and the rest of the company stood up to the Spanish dances, the men with their swords on. Some of the chasseurs being among the dancers, the commissioner was lavish in their praise, not forgetting to accompany his flattery seasonably with the request of their setting out early next morning for the place of rendezvous. They promised they would, and faithfully kept their promise. While the commissioner was at breakfast with the Marquisa, Pedrasso, the guide, came to inform him that they were all off with their dogs, accompanied by some more chasseurs, whom he had per-

persuaded to join the others, although they had not signed the articles, or received the advance. The party of ten chasseurs del Rey, with a cabo or leader, belonging to the body under the Alcade Provinciale, and actually in the King's pay, being the very men who had taken the assassins that had stranded the English ship, had privately made their way across the mountains from the Havanna, proceeding to the place of rendezvous by different routes, to prevent the suspicion that might arise from a large party marching together.

Having succeeded thus far, the commissioner took leave of the good Marquisa and her family, then went and bade farewell to some of the priests who had greatly befriended him: to these he promised to send game-fowls and porter, the most acceptable presents that could be made to them; and his promise was afterwards faithfully fulfilled. Making now the utmost dispatch towards Batabano, he met,

within four miles of the town, the captain of the company stationed there. The intelligence he gave was by no means agreeable to the commissioner. It appeared that he had been relieved the day before by an officer with a detachment of the regiment *del Pueblo*, or Mexican. He said he regretted that he was not on the spot to render the services he had been instructed by his colonel to afford, but at the same time assured the commissioner, that no difficulty was to be apprehended, the lieutenant who succeeded him in the command being well acquainted with his instructions, to every tittle of which he would strictly conform, and that he had himself remained a whole day beyond his time at the post, for the purpose of impressing on his successor's mind the directions he had received from his colonel, who, the Governor excepted, was the man of the greatest consideration in the island. "The soldiers," continued he, "are a parcel of miserable Watchinangoes, or Mexicans, and the lieutenant is

a poor ignorant fellow, who may be easily managed. Knowing by whom the business is sanctioned, he will think himself happy in promoting a service that will gain him credit with the colonel." This parting speech of the captain's raised a hope in the breast of the commissioner, that the exchange might not be so prejudicial to his views as he at first apprehended, but the poor subaltern, who had been raised from the rank of a sergeant, was not altogether the subject the captain had promised, and it is not unlikely that his predecessor was rejoiced at being relieved so critically from a post where he had a ticklish game to play.

When the commissioner was about to leave Befucal, Monsieur L'Epée, the French officer on parole there, made him an offer of accompanying him to Batabano, which he thought it adviseable to accept. From the Marquisa's indulgence, he thought no notice would be taken of his going twenty miles

miles beyond his limits, to a place where it was probable he would not be recognized, and whence he could return to his quarters in a few hours. Two other considerations had great weight with the commissioner; L'Epée spoke very good Spanish, and he might be bribed to do any thing. It is also to be observed, that peace had been concluded between the two nations, and although the Governor delayed the liberation of about eight hundred clamorous Jacobins confined in the Cavanna, till he could deliver them over to a French commissary, the case of the officer was different: he was a peaceable man professing to be a royalist, whereas the prisoners at the Havana were dreaded, and had they been turned loose, every mischief might have been expected from them.

On the commissioner's arrival at Batabano, he was treated with the greatest respect and attention by the lieutenant, to whom he showed the passport, desiring,

at the same time, that he would send an order for permitting the vessel to pass the port. Meanwhile, leaving Monsieur L'Epée at Batabano, to send him intelligence of whatever passed there, he proceeded with Captain Gilpin to the place of rendezvous in the morass, reflecting with pleasure on having so completely transacted the business he had undertaken, and on the prospect of sailing the next day for Jamaica. Arrived on the coast, Captain Gilpin went on board the schooner to prepare for the reception of the men and dogs, and the commissioner returned to his recruits at the rendezvous. He now unhappily found that his greatest difficulties were yet to be conquered. In the passport obtained from Don Luis de las Casas, the commissioner had inserted the names only of six of the Chasseurs del Rey, filling up the number to ten with the names of Pedrasso his guide and three other confidential Spaniards. Notice had been given of this circumstance to the Chasseurs del Rey

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whose

whose names were on the list, and who pointed it out to those that were not included. The latter upon this refused to embark, giving as a reason that they ran a risk of being hanged on their return to Cuba for proceeding without a passport; and the former refused, on the pretence of being by themselves too few in number to attempt the enterprize, as it was likely that they would be all killed were they to encounter so unequal a force as that with which they understood they were to contend. Every argument was used to convince the whole body that they ran no danger in embarking, and every persuasion pressed to induce them to proceed in the enterprize in which they had engaged, but in vain: nothing could move them; and the commissioner was at length under the necessity of returning to Batubano.

Conceiving that the lieutenant who had the command was fully acquainted with

the business, and that his instructions had prepared him to wink at it, the commissioner had at first thought it best to proceed without troubling him about the matter: but in the dilemma that arose, no means presented themselves of obtaining his object, but that of applying to the officer to compel the chasseurs to embark. Guess then how great was his surprize, and what were his feelings, when, arriving at Batabano, he was informed by Monsieur L'Epée, that the whole difficulty had arisen from the lieutenant himself, who, having been more inquisitive and tenacious than was expected, had discovered that above forty chasseurs were engaged to embark, although the passport he had seen mentioned only ten; and had sent notice to the men at the place of rendezvous, of which he had by some means been informed, that all who attempted to go, except those mentioned in the passport, would certainly be hanged; at the same time informing them, that as it might be the

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Governor's intention to permit more than ten to embark, he had expressly dispatched a dragoon to the Havanna to inquire his pleasure. A total failure of the commissioner's schemes seemed now inevitable; added to which, he was in no little danger of being taken up and sent to the prison of the Cavanna, if not for life, at least till the pleasure of the King of Spain could be known. In this trying situation his mind became irritated, and his resentment fell upon the poor officer, who, though the immediate cause of his disappointment, was actuated by a sense of duty. The more the commissioner's anger increased, the more mild and submissive appeared the poor lieutenant: he declared that he had not the slightest intention of offending the commissioner, or of impeding his plan, which he said he had no doubt was approved by the Governor, from whom he should very soon receive an order to permit him to sail with the chasseurs; but that as for himself, his hands were bound by

the strictness of military duty, from which he could not in honour deviate; and if he did, he should probably not only lose his commission, his sole support, but be imprisoned for life. Arguments like these, aided with uncommon modesty of behaviour, could not but have their full weight; and the commissioner, in the midst of his distress, feeling for the officer's embarrassment, and touched with compunction for the resentment he had shown, forced two hundred dollars as a gift upon the worthy lieutenant, who, while he owned his necessities, scorned a bribe, and assured the commissioner that no present whatever could induce him to swerve from his duty. Invincible virtue wherever found, whether in the superb domes of imperial cities, or on the swamps of a petty fishing-town in a remote corner of the earth, is the noblest object that can be completely presented to the mind of man. The poor lieutenant, whose bravery had raised him from the lower stations of life to the rank of a gen-

a gentleman, evinced a virtue that elevated him on the great scale of being; and the commissioner, however disappointed in his project, could not but estimate his value far above the most precious metals. But while he admired the virtue of the man, it must be owned it was with torture hardly to be endured. He had risen from a sick bed, hastened across the sea, encountered fatigue, overcome the difficulties he expected to meet, and was reaping the fruits of his activity in the foretaste of essentially serving the island of Jamaica, when an obstacle, for which he was unprepared, not only checked the enjoyment of his reflexions, but threatened immediate ruin to his scheme and to himself. It is true he had recruited more men than the Governor had allowed, for they were absolutely necessary to the success of his voyage; but he came to Batabano, confident that the way had, by the first influence in the country, been smoothed for him with the additional number of Besucal chasseurs; and,

and, had not the officer at the port been relieved, nothing could have prevented his departure. What now was his prospect? A dragoon had been dispatched to the Havanna, by whom the Governor would learn that, instead of ten he had carried upwards of forty chasseurs to the port to be embarked; Don Luis's resentment would necessarily be the consequence of this information, and however the goodness natural to him, and his consideration for the melancholy state of the island of Jamaica, might incline him to act leniently on the occasion, it was not to be supposed that he would overlook a transaction officially and publicly made known to him, when no persuasion could induce him to consent to it while the knowledge of it was confined to a few persons. An order, therefore, to stop the chasseurs and secure the commissioner was the least to be expected. The happy images of intimidating the Maroons to a surrender, or of driving them from their fastnesses, all vanished, and

and made way for others of a gloomy nature; on the one hand, the British troops harassed by the successful ambushes of their enemy, the country desolated, long kept in suspense and alarm, and perhaps finally ruined, like St. Domingo, on the other; himself thrown into the prison of the Cavanaugh, waiting the result of dispatches sent across the Atlantic.

Although the hope of averting the misfortune could be but small, the commissioner resolved to leave nothing untried that gave him the slightest chance of retrieving his plan. If the lieutenant was not to be bribed, equal firmness might not inhabit the breast of the dragoon whom he had charged with his express for the Governor; and the commissioner, without losing a moment, dispatched Pedrasso after him with money. With the guide he sent one of the chasseurs del Rey, having first given him a very ample compensation. Their instructions were to make
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the utmost speed and overtake the dragoon, to whom they were to offer the bribe; if he happened to refuse it, they were to kill his horse, and engage some of the Besucal people to secure his person privately; at all events, to prevent his reaching the Havanna with the lieutenant's dispatches. Pedrasso was to proceed thither with a letter to Mr. Alwood, in which the commissioner informed him of the change of the officer at Barabano and of his own dilemma, requesting him to obtain from the Governor, if possible, a general order to the lieutenant to let the chasseurs pass, without specifying any number. The chasseur del Rey was to conceal himself on the road till Pedrasso came back for him, and on his return to his companions was to produce a list of the ten chasseurs, written in a Spanish hand, with which he was furnished by Monsieur L'Epée, and to say that the Alcade Provinciale had ordered him to return immediately with positive injunctions to the chasseurs to embark

embark without delay. Pedraffo was to assert that the Governor had given permission for as many to go on board as the commissioner chose to take with him ; and that the Marquisa de Filippe et St. Jago had directed him to order her people to obey the commissioner. This project of a forlorn hope was immediately put into execution : the dragoon was overtaken, received his bribe, and relinquished his horse. So far fortunate, Pedraffo lodged his companion on the way, and proceeded alone to the Havanna. The guide was almost the only man among the chasseurs personally known to Don Luis de las Casas, who recognized him as he was passing in the town ; and concluding that he had deserted the commissioner after receiving his money, ordered him to be carried to prison. Luckily, Pedraffo had twelve dollars remaining in his pocket, with which he prevailed on a soldier to go to Mr. Alwood, and inform him of his situation. Mr. Alwood immediately spoke to
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the Marquis del Real Secorro, who applied to the Governor for Pedrasso's release, assuring him that the schooner had not failed, and that Mr. Alwood meant to write on business by him to the commissioner. He was on this released after a very few hour's confinement; and having received a letter from that gentleman, set out on his return to Batabano. Mr. Alwood, sensible that an application to the Governor as to an increase of the number of chasseurs would be fruitless, probably judged that the mention of any dilemma would be also impolitic, and that it would be best for the commissioner to extricate himself, if possible, without the circumstance being made known to the Government. No order therefore was obtained, but the most was made of Pedrasso's confinement. He declared that he had experienced the displeasure of the Governor, who, at first suspecting him of desertion, had ordered him to prison; but, on being informed that he had been sent on business by the commissioner, released him,

him, and desired him to return and order all the chasseurs to embark immediately. The circumstance was literally true, and the assertion of it by Pedrasso was corroborated in an extraordinary manner. It happened that the collector of the port of Batabano was leaving the Havanna, where, as he passed, seeing Pedrasso at the prison gate obtaining his release, he inquired and heard the story of his desertion and confinement publicly talked of. Soon after Pedrasso's arrival, the chasseur del Rey, who took care not to come exactly at the same time, appeared with the list of the names of all his party, and asserted that the Alcalde Provinciale, who was coming over, declared, that if he found any of them left behind, he would have them imprisoned, and punished for disobedience of orders.

The poor lieutenant now began to apprehend that he had not only offended the commissioner, but had incurred the Governor's displeasure, and he even con-

sidered the detention of the dragoon, who he supposed had reached the Havanna, and should have been back full eight-and-forty hours before, as a mark of disapprobation. He was not, however, so thoroughly convinced of this as to comply with the commissioner's desire of immediately embarking, but entreated him to extend his patience a little more, it being improbable, he said, that the dragoon should be much longer detained. Anxious to extenuate his apparent rigour of conduct, he assured the commissioner, whom he entitled *Grande Colonel*, that he had the highest respect for him, and that, had it not been for the deference he felt, he should certainly have sent the French officer, whom he knew to be restricted to Befucal on parole, to the fort of the Cavanna in irons. Conscious of not meaning ill, he besought the commissioner, if offence should be taken at his conduct, to write in his favour to the Governor. This being promised, his heart grew lighter, and he did

did every thing he could to soften the distress into which he had thrown his guest, which of necessity the commissioner had now become. Sometimes, the latter, a little angry at being detained so much longer than was necessary for the return of the dragoon, and knowing too that he would never return, was upon the point of venting his spleen, when the humble visage of the unhappy lieutenant, cloathing itself with a smile of deprecation, over a stew-pan in which he was preparing a favourite dish on a charcoal fire near the table, completely disarmed him: the heart that could not have felt for the poor fellow must have been callous. Humble and attentive as he was, however, he suffered not the slightest abatement in the vigilance of the guard over the commissioner, who for four days had the eyes of twelve Mexican soldiers upon him, besides a corporal and four dragoons, who were his constant attendants. Through the day he was generally at the lieutenant's quarters, adjoining the guard-house:

VOL. II. H house:

house: the place allotted for his lodging at night, was an unoccupied building, of a single room, belonging to the Collector of the Port, but at some distance from his house. There, on two very hard cow-hides stretched over frames, and covered with mats, he and the French officer reposed themselves, though, as it may well be imagined, the commissioner at this vexatious juncture did not much enjoy the benefit of sleep. Nothing could prevail upon the lieutenant to relax the rigour of his duty, but his mind at the same time was engaged in showing every civility and respect, such as he might have thought it incumbent upon him to pay to a state prisoner of high rank. On the 4th day of this kind of imprisonment, that is, on the day of the return of Pedrasso and the chasseur del Rey, the lieutenant, anxious to induce the commissioner to wait with patience the arrival of the Governor's favourable answer, now hourly expected by the dragoon, ordered a puppet-show

to be got up for his amusement. Spanish foldiers are capital hands at a puppet-show. The commiffioner obferved them very bufy all the day : nor had he himfelf been lefs occupied, for from the moment of Pedraffo's return, he had fet every engine to work in order to effect his efcape. The chaffeurs had all fubmitted on the report of Pedraffo and the chaffeur who brought the lift, and had agreed to embark upon an order from the commiffioner : the only point then was, to evade the vigilance of the lieutenant and his guard. The plan of efcape was concerted with Pedraffo, who was furnifhed with money to play his part properly. He undertook to prevent the return of the fort guard after the puppet-show, by lending them a few dollars to engage them in gambling ; to bribe the dragoon ferjeant with a hundred dollars, not only to wink at their efcape, but to affift in it ; and when every thing was ready for departure, he was, as foon as the moon went down, to have a horfe

waiting at a convenient distance for the commissioner, and to give him notice by tapping at his window. Matters were conducted accordingly: the serjeant proved himself worthy of his wages, no man could have performed his part better, either as director of the show, or promoter of the escape; and as for the guard, Pedrasso was fully confident that the show, and the money he had scattered among them, would keep them at the town till the next day. The hour of meeting being come, the commissioner, his guard attending, was honoured with the company of the collector's daughters, two gigantic damsels, between whom he walked with studied gallantry, affecting at the same time to limp, as if he were sensible of an approaching fit of the gout. The entertainment was the usual trumpery of puppet-shows, but an incident introduced in the last scene as a compliment to the commissioner, gave a most ludicrous turn to the conclusion. A puppet, representing a naked negro, was brought forward

ward in the act of running; after him came the figures of dogs, accompanied with a loud barking, and then a figure representing the *Grande Colonel* himself, with a drawn sword and a high cocked hat, ornamented with long feathers, as like the commissioner's as it could be made: he was ushered in with a general shout of *a Maroono, a Maroono*. The puppet being worked too rapidly backwards and forwards, in the vehemence of action some of the gentleman's tackling gave way, and he was thrown about in a crippled state, which corresponding with the lameness affected by the commissioner all that day, occasioned a general uproar of laughter and shouting, which put an end to the piece, when many apologies were made by the performers, who protested that they meant no offence to the British colonel, nor any jest on his being *cobo*, or lame, but that the wires of his representative were accidentally broken by too violent an exertion to display his bravery. It was generally

understood on the return of Pedraffo and the chasseur del Rey, that the business had been fully settled for his departure with the approbation of the Governor, and the Spaniards were all eager in their offers of accompanying him to reduce the Ma-rooms. The commissioner now returned, guarded as before, to sup with the lieutenant, and having been at no expence for the puppet-show, requested permission to give the soldiers a trifle to drink: this was not objected to, and he took care to give the Mexicans enough to ensure their intoxication. When he was supposed to be giving them rials, he slipped two dollars into the hands of each, and then sat down to supper. Completely to blind the lieutenant, the commissioner in the morning had sent a part of his baggage to his quarters, to remain there with some small casks, supposed designed for porter as presents to several persons, which seemed to be a convincing proof of his intention to wait the result of the expected answer from

from the Havanna, and was a kind of pledge to the officer for the security of his person. But to leave a full impresson, not only of his being reconciled to stay, but of his inability to go, on retiring from supper to his apartment, he appeared to suffer torture from the gout. No doubt now remained with the lieutenant that he should have the pleasure of the commissioner's company till the return of his express dragoon from the Havanna, and L'Epée was left to ply him with frequent draughts of porter, of which the Spanish creoles are very fond. The Frenchman, however, pushed his importunities to such excess, that the wrath of the Mexican was roused, and some angry words passing, the former quitted the field, and joined the commissioner, whom he informed that the lieutenant was going to bed, but not so drunk as he could have wished. He was, however, too far advanced himself to determine the point precisely. It was about eleven o'clock when Monsieur L'Epée came to the chamber,

ber, and the commissioner, recollecting that he had left his pistols at the lieutenants quarters, dispatched him to bring them away if possible unperceived. This he very dexterously effected, by going without any ceremony into his room after he was in bed, under pretence of looking for some articles wanted for the night, which the commissioner had left there among other things. The pistols being immediately loaded, each threw himself on his matrafs with his cloaths on, and the lights were extinguished. About twelve o'clock the commissioner, hearing the trampling of a horse, gently unbolted his door, and supposing it to be the guide, asked in a low tone of voice if it was Pedraffo; but the man passing into the street near the door, which opened on the side of the room into an alley, the commissioner found that it was the dragoon serjeant. He was at first startled, but on being saluted with a *buena noche signor*, in a mild, intelligent tone, he felt assured that the hundred dollars

lars had not been thrown away, and that all was safe in that quarter. Every thing was now quiet, and the commissioner counted the minutes as he anxiously waited the signal to be given by the guide, who about two o'clock tapped gently at the window, and desired him to cross the street cautiously, that he might run no risk of being observed, informing him that he would find him with horses about a hundred yards off in a direct line.

Amidst his preparation for escaping, the commissioner had not been forgetful of the poor lieutenant, whom he respected and pitied. He wrote letters to his friends at the Havanna, stating the circumstances, and fully exculpating him. He also requested Mr. Alwood to make every interest in his behalf, and to give him a hundred pounds, should he meet any distress upon this occasion. To the French officer he gave a hundred and twenty dollars, and thanked him warmly for his services,
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the last of which he was now to perform, by engaging the attention of the guard at the guardhouse opposite the lieutenant's door, a little higher up the street which the commissioner was to cross. The moon was just gone down; no light was to be seen but the guard's; and now shaking hands with Monsieur L'Epée, the commissioner, at parting, made him a present of his trunks, saddles, barrels, and other things deposited at the lieutenant's quarters, not doubting that his fertile genius would enable him to decamp before day-dawn with all but the empty barrels to Besucal. L'Epée was soon at the guardhouse, where he began talking loudly with the soldiers, who came about him with great vociferation and clamour, the effect of some dollars' worth of agua-dente, or rum. The commissioner, creeping on his hands and knees across the street, heard him desire them to make less noise, that they might not wake the colonel, who was ill. This was the last he heard of Monsieur L'Epée; and having got safe

beyond sight of the guardhouse, he soon came up with Pedraffo and the horses, with a couple of Spaniards, whom the guide had bribed. He mounted without a moment's delay, benumbed by the chilly damps of the morafs, in a night uncommonly cold for the latitude he was in; his pistols secured in a belt, his sword by his side, having neither gloves nor great coat, which were left with his other things at the lieutenant's. In this state he rode forward, but had not proceeded many yards when his horse was tripped up by some ropes that had been carelessly left across the path of a rope-walk. Every impediment was now of moment, and the fall he received was very severe; but the horse being secured, he again mounted, and rode to the edge of the morafs, where he alighted to avoid a small house in the causeway which served occasionally as a station for some of the guard, and waded through a short angle of the morafs, he then proceeded with Pedraffo along the causeway

way to the beach, where he had the satisfaction of finding most of the chasseurs ready and anxious to embark, and was told that the rest were coming up from the little island where they had rendezvoused. He was very soon joined by these, and nothing now remained but to get the dogs on board, and embark as quietly as possible. This was no light task, but fortunately the English sailors had secured all the boats in the harbour, not excepting those of the guarda costas, the officers belonging to which were dancing fandangoes in the country. Having dismounted the only two guns that could bear on the schooner, and the fort-guard being all happily engaged in gaming at the town, the commissioner proceeded to embark his people. The trouble attending the embarkation was inconceivable, and the loud incessant barking of more than a hundred large dogs, was enough to give an alarm that might have reached the town. The shallowness of the water prevented the boats from coming within

within two hundred yards of the beach, and of course the dogs were to be carried in the arms of the men, which was a work of great labour. The dogs had heavy chains on, and being unaccustomed to the sailors, struggled, scratched, and made a terrible noise. The howling and barking were tremendous along the shore, and the figures of the men carrying the dogs, seen through the dark shade of night, would have afforded an excellent subject to a painter of genius. The people had many turns to make before all the dogs were placed on board, and consequently a considerable time was consumed in the embarkation; however, by sun-rise, forty chasseurs, with a hundred and four dogs, were shipped. Of the dogs, thirty-six only were thoroughly trained, the others were the best that could be procured, and would have answered the purpose, if the Maroons had compelled the use of them. All hands being on board, the schooner was immediately got under way, and the dogs

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secured,

secured, to give as little trouble as possible; yet many a curse did they get from the sailors, whom they clawed, and contrived to nip with their teeth, though muzzled.

Nothing was now talked of but a speedy passage to Jamaica, and the rewards expected. The commissioner's mind was relieved of a load of anxiety; mirth and good humour prevailed among the people, and the vessel was standing to sea under a croud of sail, when they suddenly saw two guarda costas coming out of port after them. This appearance, however, gave them no alarm: the complement of the schooner now amounted to ninety-six men; nor would the Spanish vessels have dared to attack her, had they even come up with her, which they were probably as little inclined as able to do. Towards the evening they tacked and returned to port. The coast was now clear, and every danger of disappointment seemed completely removed, when, as the night was advancing, the pilots,

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terrified by the guarda costas, or mistaking the channel, ran the schooner aground at a considerable distance from any of the keys or islands. All attempt to get her off was fruitless, and at twelve o'clock a violent North * setting in, she began to thump with such violence, that the rudder was driven up by every stroke so as to be almost unshipped ; and had not the vessel been new and strong, she must have gone to pieces. Never could a night have been passed in greater horror. Surrounded by reefs and breakers, the gale increasing to a storm, and the depth of water diminished by the power of the wind, there was but little hope of saving either the vessel or the crew. The English sailors, persuaded that a wreck was inevitable, hoisted out the boat to secure it for themselves ; and getting all in, kept under the lee of the

* In the months of November and December, the wind frequently blows from the North for a short time, and generally accompanied with rain. These occasional winds are called Norths.

schooner. In the confusion that prevailed, many of the dogs got loose, and seized upon the cattle which had been put on board to sustain them through the voyage. The bellowing of these poor animals, the howling of the dogs, the blowing of the wind, the roaring of the sea, the audible and agitated praying of the Spaniards, and the darkness of the night, conspired to render the situation tremendous. Captain Gilpin requested the commissioner to take to the boat with the seamen, who would admit both of them: but a small boat, crowded with twenty men, not having room to use their oars, could have no chance of being saved. Had the sailors put off from the vessel, they would inevitably have driven upon a reef of rocks a mile to leeward, where they must have perished. When British seamen despair, the danger must be great indeed: not one of the crew expected to live till the morning, and the commissioner saw nothing to induce him to embrace the proposal of joining those in the boat. Next
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morning the violence of the North had so lessened the depth of water in the channel that the schooner, which drew ten feet four inches, was now in seven feet six, she consequently no longer thumped the sands, but lay over upon her larboard side very much. In this situation she remained the rest of the day, and all night. The succeeding day the North abated, the channels began to fill again, and hope once more revived; but another night was passed in the position of the preceding. On the third day, a considerable quantity of the ballast was thrown overboard, anchors were carried out, and at length, by warping, the schooner was got afloat. Joy being restored, the pilots were assured that they should be hanged if the vessel again ran aground; but they soon found a proper channel, and cleared the intricacies of the Jardines. The schooner, previous to her clearing the keys, being obliged to come to an anchor under Cayo Blanco, a small trading vessel made up to

her, to beg some water; and the people being told that there was a spring on the key at a little distance, said they had attempted to supply themselves there, but had been prevented by a crocodillo. The commissioner, wishing to get one of these animals, sent six of the Spaniards with their muschets and a strong hog-lance to kill and bring it aboard. Some time after they set out, Pedrasso being informed of it, foretold that they would return unsuccessful; which proved to be the case: the men came back with their muschets hacked, and the lance bent at the point. Pedrasso laughed at the mountaineers, whom he instructed in the mode of taking a crocodillo. This was, on the creature's approach, to offer him a hat, which he would seize and tug: the assailant was then to raise the head with the hat, which gave him an opportunity to pierce with his weapon the penetrable part of the crocodillo, between the throat and the breast, in a direction to the heart; for as to his head,

head, back, and sides, they were able to resist the force of a musket ball. Pedrasso offered to go and take one in the morning; but the light enabling the schooner to proceed, the commissioner's mind was too intent on the issue of his voyage to permit the delay of a moment. The crocodillo differs considerably from the cayman, or common alligator. The former is never known to exceed seven or eight feet, is lighter made, and will attack man or beast. The latter grows to sixteen and seventeen feet, is heavy, timid, and flies from man, though he will sometimes seize on dogs, sheep, and other feeble animals. The Spaniards say that no crocodillos are to be found in places frequented by alligators: these abound on the south keys, which are muddy, and on the muddy morasses of the main island, where they live on crabs and fish of all sizes, left in abundance on the mud by the tide: on the contrary, the crocodillos are seen on the drier sandy keys of the Jardines and the

opposite coast, and particularly in the isle of Pines, where they are often found in the lower plains, at some distance from the water.

The schooner being now under way, quite clear of the Jardines, the commissioner's hopes of success were raised to the highest pitch, and every flattering image was renewed in his mind. But he was doomed to suffer fresh vexation from the unyielding piety of the Spaniards. They all declared, that it was incumbent upon them to express their gratitude to St. Anthony for being saved from shipwreck, and to receive absolution from their priests before they proceeded; for which double purpose they insisted on putting into the port of Trinidad. Nothing could prevail upon them to forego this resolution: they declared that they would leave their dogs on board, and return after satisfying their consciences. The commissioner determined, if possible, not to
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trust them; but they were positive, and being all armed with long sabres, were sufficiently powerful to effect their purpose. Though no seamen, they knew which tack laid the vessel off the coast, and would not suffer it: the land breeze however coming off, the sailors edged away from the shore as much as possible. Fortunately in the morning a heavy North again set in, that rendered the making Trinidad impracticable, and there was some chance of falling in with a British cruizer, whose assistance would have completely supported the commissioner's determination of not putting in with the Spaniards; but the purpose was as fully answered by the North's increasing, which forced the schooner off the coast of Cuba; she was therefore of necessity put before the wind, and next morning fell in with the land near Falmouth in the parish of Trelawney, the sight of which was rendered doubly joyous by the recollection of the many difficulties that had been

encountered and overcome. As she stood in shore in the morning, the schooner saw a French privateer, which she chased, and, being a much faster sailer, would have taken, had not the Frenchman, by tacking, gained to windward, the Mercury not holding so good a wind, owing to her having been obliged to throw so much of her ballast over board to get her off the ground in the passage of the Jardines. At length being now quite out of provisions and water, she bore up for Montego Bay, where the commissioner was to experience a new vexation before he landed. Entering the bay at dusk in the evening, the officer of the fort mistook the Mercury for an enemy's privateer, and she had to run the gantlet of the batteries, from which she was welcomed back by several vollies of grape-shot. As fortune would have it, neither men nor dogs were hurt, and on the 14th of December, the schooner dropped anchor in a birth where she lay covered by some

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American vessels between her and the batteries.

The commissioner had been absent seven weeks, and, although he had completely succeeded in the immediate object of his expedition to Cuba, he was willing to flatter himself that a favourable progress had been made in the war, and that there would be no occasion to have recourse to the recruits he had brought with him; but his first enquiries produced an answer, which convinced him that their services would be required. He received a melancholy account of the state of affairs, and was informed that very little progress had been made in reducing the Maroons, that the troops had suffered great losses, that the militia were jaded, and the numbers on duty greatly lessened. No time, therefore, was lost in landing the chasseurs and their dogs: the wild and formidable appearance of both spread terror through the place; the streets were cleared, the

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doors of the houses shut, and the windows crouded. Not a negro ventured to stir out. The muzzled dogs with the heavy rattling chains ferociously making at every object, and forcibly dragging on the chafseurs, who could hardly restrain them, presented a scene of a tremendous nature, well calculated to give a most awful colouring to the report which would be conveyed to the Maroons.

The despondence that had prevailed now yielded to hope, renovated by the arrival of the commissioner, and joy was spread throughout the island. He was congratulated, and thanked by all who met him; his exertions were extolled in all companies; no praise was thought too high, nor could a reward be named adequate to his services. If, indeed, we consider the spirit of the enterprise; the indefatigable activity with which it was pursued, the difficulties overcome, and the dispatch with which it was completed, we must allow
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that the gratitude of the inhabitants of Jamaica was not premature, for although the ultimate object of the Cuba expedition remained to be accomplished, the expedition itself had been conducted with uncommon energy and ability, and had been attended with complete success: and it is no wonder that the great proprietors, some of whom had declared themselves ready to lay down the half of their fortunes for the suppression of the dangerous rebellion raging in the heart of the country, should feel the obligation they were under to one who had risen from a bed of sickness, despised fatigue and danger, and restored to them the prospect of saving their property and the island from destruction.

LETTER XII.

State of the War in Jamaica.—March to Seven Rivers.—The Chasseurs reviewed by General Walpole.—Critical Period.—Colonel Hull marches in Search of Montague's Party.—Cato killed.—The Parties meet.—A Truce.—Treaty of Peace.—Unfortunate Rencontre with Colonel Stevenson's Detachment.—Colonel Skinner advances from Post Augustus against Johnson.—Is recalled.—Johnson's intended Projects.—The Lieutenant-Governor arrives at Wemyss-Castle.—Ratifies General Walpole's Treaty.—Distrust and Apprehensions of the Maroons.—Keep out beyond the Day appointed for their Surrender.—The Chasseurs dissatisfied.—General Walpole's Opinion respecting them.—Bodies of Maroons surrender at different Times.—Palmer and Parkinson, with some others, remove to a distant Part of the Country.—Fidelity of Johnson and Smith.—They beg for a Party to go and bring in the Remainder of the Maroons.—Refused.—The Spaniards eager to act.—Nutricious Root found in the Woods.—Detachment sent against Palmer and Parkinson.—Dilemma of the Party.—Palmer and Parkinson surrender.—Termination of the War.

PREVIOUS to the arrival of the Spanish chasseurs, General Walpole, well knowing
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that the talents of Johnson rendered him the most formidable of the Maroon chiefs, and that his vigour and activity called for the strictest vigilance on his enterprise, thought it necessary to alarm him from time to time by feigned movements, though he could not spare a sufficient number of troops to establish strong posts on the Westmoreland quarter, the principal station of his party. These movements were made with an appearance of great secrecy, but with a design of Johnson's being informed of them ; for there was no doubt that he received intelligence by means of some of the negroes, the certainty of which was afterwards evinced by the speedy information given to him of the arrival of the chasseurs. To countenance the feint, General Walpole gave orders for purchasing provisions for a grand depot on the Westmoreland side, while, in reality, he was executing a plan which he had suggested of carrying a road through the few springs in the cock-pits from the north side
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to the south side of the island, and of pushing down detachments of the troops to take post at the springs, which, from the difficulty of obtaining water, must have rendered the excursions of the Maroons eastward almost impracticable. General Walpole had established posts on the 18th of November, at Hector's River, and Mouth River, covering the eastern part of the island with the Clarendon and Vere militia: but great fears were entertained in the Naussau mountains to the south, which, from the want of force, could not be effectually guarded; and the weather having been dry, the burning the estates in that quarter was much dreaded. The action between Captain Drummond and Johnson, mentioned at the conclusion of my eighth Letter, happened in consequence of the feigned movements planned by General Walpole. It took place on the 13th of December, the day before the arrival of the chasseurs, and the Maroons after the action threatened to burn Belvidere, General

neral Reid's estate, in a few nights. In the mean time the commissioner had landed the chasseurs, and dispatches were immediately sent to General Walpole at the Old Town announcing their arrival. The news flew so rapidly through the country, that in less than two hours it reached General Reid, at his post on Great River, and he instantly wrote to the commissioner, requesting him to bring the chasseurs to him as speedily as possible; at the same time mentioning the action that had been fought with Captain Drummond, and that another attack was intended immediately, assuring him that he would be responsible to General Walpole for his not waiting his orders. On receiving this letter, the commissioner lost no time in pushing up the chasseurs towards Post Augustus, the appointed rendezvous, where troops were to be assembled for the attack proposed. Two halts were made on the way, at which time cattle were killed for the use of the dogs and men. The manner of
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slaying

slaying an ox, by which he was as soon dispatched as by the ordinary mode, was to set some dogs on him, who pinned him down, and one of the chasseurs with his sharp muschet cut the throat of the animal. The dogs catching at the blood with open mouths, and pushing one another's heads about, were half covered with it, and being powdered with dust on their march, exhibited a ferocious appearance, well calculated to inspire terror. The negroes on the different estates through which they passed, left their work and fled in every direction. The Maroons too were very soon informed of the approach of the chasseurs. Johnson, after the action with Captain Drummond, had returned to his old position, or rather to one a mile to the eastward of it, where he conceived he should engage with more advantage, and he was bold enough to say, that, covered by the woods, and independent of the cock-pits, he thought himself equal to any force that could be brought against him; but

but no sooner did he hear of the arrival of the chasseurs, than he quitted this position in order to join old Montague's party.

The second halt of the chasseurs was made at a place called Seven Rivers, where they remained all night. Here, by an order from General Walpole, small fusils were given to the Spaniards, who were with difficulty persuaded to take them, declaring that they would rather depend entirely on their swords and dogs; and though each took one, it seems they determined among themselves to lodge them with the rear-guard before they went into action. They laughed on being told that the Maroons were good marksmen, and would fight under cover, retiring from hill to hill. They were fully apprized, they said, of all the Maroons could do, and only wished to get upon their track.

Anxious

Anxious to review the chasseurs, General Walpole left head-quarters, the morning after they were landed, before day-break, and arrived in a post-chaise at Seven Rivers about seven o'clock, accompanied by Colonel Skinner, whom he appointed to conduct the intended attack. Notice of his coming having preceded him, a parade of the chasseurs was ordered. They were taken to a distance from the house, in order to be advanced when the General alighted. On his arrival, the commissioner having paid his respects to him, was desired to parade them. The Spaniards appeared at the end of a gentle acclivity, drawn out in a line containing upwards of forty men, with their dogs in front, unmuzzled, and held by the cotton-ropes. According to directions previously given, on receiving the command to fire, they discharged their fufils, and advanced as upon a real attack. This was intended to ascertain what effect would be produced on the dogs if engaged under a fire of the Maroons. The volley
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was no sooner fired than the dogs pressed forward with the greatest fury, amidst the continued shouts of the Spaniards, who were dragged on with irresistible force. Some of the dogs, maddened by the shout of attack while held back by the ropes, seized on the stocks of the guns in the hands of their keepers, and tore pieces out of them. Their impetuosity was so great, that they were with difficulty stopped before they reached the General, who found it necessary to go into the chaise from which he had alighted; and if the greatest exertions had not been made to stop them, they would certainly have seized upon his horses. He was much pleased with the review, and augured a happy effect from their appearance among the Maroons. The chasseurs hearing that they were to attend the troops in an attack that was to be made as soon as possible, expressed great anxiety to go out alone; but every solicitation on the subject was repressed, and they were directed to be strictly attentive

to the orders of Colonel Skinner, under whom they were going out.

The juncture appeared favourable to General Walpole for attempting to bring the Maroons to terms which it might not be injurious to the country, or derogatory to the dignity of the Government to grant. It is true no victory of importance had been obtained over them, but the militia under Colonel Stevenson, and other detachments, had considerably checked their predatory incursions on the provision grounds in Trelawney, and the General from his own station had driven them into the remote cock-pits, where, from the setting in of the dry weather, the scarcity of water must have been already felt. Parties from Post Augustus and Mocha had, by conflicts with Johnson, confined his depredations on that side of the mountains. The posts established at Mouth and Hector Rivers, with the Clarendon and Vere militia, under Colonel Robertson and Major Shaw, had successfully

fully opposed the Maroon inroads to the east: and on the 15th Colonel Hull had maintained a gallant action with Montague's party, whom he had forced to retreat. There were considerations on the other hand, that had great weight in influencing the General to force the Maroons into an accommodation, so earnestly pressed for by the country in general. The festival of Christmas was approaching, a period when, even in times of the greatest tranquillity, it has always been thought proper to be particularly vigilant against the consequences of the intemperance and excesses in which many of the negroes then indulge. The protraction of the war had astonished the other bodies of Maroons and the slaves, and had fixed their attention on the events of it, which were sometimes sooner known among them at very distant parts, than at the capital; and it was reported that a very large body intended to join the Maroons. The dry weather was set in, the beginning of crop was at

hand, and the canes now ripe and dropping their dry blades, were become very combustible. A few rebellious negroes might easily effect a devastation which it might not be in the power of thousands of attached and orderly ones to prevent or arrest ; for the violent parching winds prevailing in the dry season, would carry a fire through whole districts. Now then, General Walpole, instead of driving the Maroons to desperation, conceived the wisest step he could take would be to seize the opportunity offered by the terror which was spread by the arrival of the chasseurs, to show them that though their first successes had determined him to continue the conflict till he subdued them by force of arms, he was willing, when joined by a force which from its nature could not fail of driving them from their recesses, to adopt mild measures rather than proceed to a pursuit, the effects of which would be so terrible. He accordingly directed Colonel Hull, who had been ordered to advance
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from the Old Town against Montague's party, to offer them terms; and he desired Colonel Skinner, in going out against Johnson, to keep the chasseurs in the rear.

On the 18th, Colonel Hull, with a part of the 62d regiment, detachments of the 17th light dragoons, and other regular corps, forming a very strong force, went out after Montague's party, who had received a message from Johnson to advance and meet him nearer the Old Town. The party having made a movement in consequence of the message, Colonel Hull, after a march of about six miles, fell in with them much sooner than he expected, at Pond River. A negro was immediately dispatched to hasten the baggage up. Cato, a slave, was the person sent. During the whole campaign he had been a most faithful guide. It was by his means the retreat of the rebels was discovered, and he had behaved in action with great bravery, but returning for the baggage, he was

unfortunately killed by a Maroon in an ambush.

The Maroons were on the side of a steep hill, and the troops on an opposite acclivity, with a narrow glade between them. Colonel Hull's advanced guard coming upon them by surprise, began a fire, which was returned by the Maroons: but orders were immediately given to stop firing, the officers directing the men to cover themselves as well as they could by the trees. This being obeyed, the Maroons were called to, repeatedly, to desist firing, and told that the General wished to grant them peace. A straggling fire, however, being kept up by the body, seemed to enrage their captains, who finding the fire of the troops had entirely ceased, no longer concealed themselves, but were seen skipping among the rocks to silence their own. This being effected, they asked if General Walpole was there to talk to them, and were told he was not,
but

but that he should be sent for, and that in the mean time Colonel Hull was authorized to grant them peace. A long conversation now took place, during which the Maroons appeared extremely distrustful. At length Mr. Werge of the 17th light dragoons, with great presence of mind and cool deliberate courage, threw down his arms and descended to the foot of the hill close to them, calling upon them to meet him, telling them that as the war was ended, neither party should be afraid to meet and shake hands upon it. On this, Fowler, the Maroon, advanced and took him by the hand, and at Mr. Werge's proposal changed hats and jackets with him. Charles Schaw, who had the command of old Montague's party, then came down, and afterwards one or two more of the captains. Nothing more was effected at this time than a cessation of hostilities. The Maroons declared that they would not fire upon the troops if they did not advance, assuring Colonel Hull that they

on their side would not advance on him. The night, however, coming on, rendered the situation of both parties hazardous and painful. There was a small spring of water in the glade between them, and it was agreed in order that no partial advantage might be gained by either side, that each should advance two sentries to guard it. In this position they lay under arms all night. However, about two o'clock in the morning, the want of water, which was severely felt on both sides, impelled the Maroons to call out to the troops, and propose that Colonel Hull should withdraw his sentries a little way till they supplied themselves, after which they would withdraw theirs, that the troops might go and take water. The proposal was readily consented to, and both parties obtained a refreshment they were extremely in want of.

An express having been sent to General Walpole, informing him of the truce that
had

had taken place, the Maroons were told at day-dawn that he was on his way, and in the mean time they were invited to send some of their captains to meet an equal number of the officers at the spring; but the cautious captains chose to reserve their confidence till they saw the General, who with General Reid arrived early in the morning, and was met by old Montague and the captains, depending on the promise of the Commander in Chief for the security of their persons. After some talk, the following proposals were made by the Maroons, and granted by General Walpole.

1st. That they would on their knees beg his Majesty's pardon.

2^d. That they would go to the Old Town, Montego Bay, or any other place that might be pointed out, and would settle on whatever lands the Governor, Council, and Assembly might think proper to allot.

3^d.

3d. That they would give up all run-aways*.

To these simple articles, entered into on the 21st of December 1795, and considered as a treaty, General Walpole was under the necessity of adding another, which was a secret one, promising that the Maroons should not be sent off the island, and he was obliged to accede on his oath †. These preliminaries settled, the General allowed a certain time for them to bring in their women and children, who were concealed in a remote situation, where they had been living in a miserable state, the measles having broke out among them, and where they were almost famished from being unable to procure a sufficient quantity of provisions. Some of the men returned to head-quarters to represent this and the necessity of carrying in provisions to

* Votes of the House of Assembly. See Appendix, No. 3.

† Ibid.

their

their families, repeating the most solemn assurances of their intention to come in with as much expedition as possible.

When the articles of the treaty were agreed to, General Walpole cautioned the Maroons respecting a party under Colonel Stevenson that had been sent out from another direction with the view of covering the grounds and co-operating with Colonel Hull, should an action take place. To prevent their being attacked, the General gave them a letter to Colonel Stevenson, informing him of the peace he had granted. On parting, a number of the Maroons, now joined by about thirty of their women, who were employed in carrying baggage and provisions, unfortunately took a route towards Colonel Stevenson's detachment, whose advance came by surprise on the women as they were ascending a hill. These fled in different directions, while the men called out to stop; but a firing being begun, the voices were disregarded,
as

as the Maroons were accustomed to call out in battle. Smith having fixed General Walpole's letter in a cleft stick, used his utmost endeavours to have it noticed by presenting it at different openings of the wood, retreating as Colonel Stevenson advanced. Not succeeding, he at length took to his gun, and the battle became general. Captain Dunbar of the militia, and some others, were killed, several were wounded, and the affair ended like most of the actions in the woods: the Maroons fought themselves off, and the militia, after exhausting themselves, retreated.

In the mean time Colonel Skinner, with a part of the 16th regiment, a detachment of the 83d, and the chasseurs, had quitted Post Augustus with the intention of attacking Johnson on the ground he had taken after his action with Captain Drummond. Johnson, who before braved all danger, had, on the 18th, in consequence of his message to old Montague, when he heard of the chasseurs approach, made a rapid movement

ment of his principal force, leaving a small party to proceed with the women and baggage to a secure place in the southernmost cock-pits, while he proceeded to form his junction with Montague's party, which he was prevented from effecting by their falling in with Colonel Hull. But this was unknown to Colonel Skinner, who on the 19th went in pursuit of him, and having passed his old position, pushed on with redoubled vigour, expecting every moment to overtake him. The chasseurs entreated to be allowed to advance, but this he strictly forbade, keeping them constantly in the rear. The party were within two miles of the body left by Johnson to convoy the women and baggage, though this was at the time unknown, and had the Spaniards been allowed to advance, not one of them could have escaped. About two o'clock an express dispatched by General Walpole before he left headquarters, overtook Colonel Skinner, with an order to return, informing him that

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the

the Maroons had shown a disposition to treat for peace, which he hoped in a few hours to conclude with them. This was very unwelcome news to the chasseurs, who had buoyed themselves up with the expectation of the great rewards which had been offered by the various proclamations: but some time after, on being ordered to head-quarters at the Old Town, they continued to entertain hopes of opportunities being afforded them to act.

The period in which General Walpole made the peace was a most critical one. Johnson had moved to concentrate the Maroon force for the purpose of adopting a dreadful alternative, had a negotiation been unsuccessful. Ignorant of General Walpole's design of admitting them to terms, it was his own intention to have sent in an offer: for he was now, for the first time since the burning of his settlement, anxiously solicitous for peace. It is a circumstance hardly known, that he

meant

meant, on the junction of the whole Maroon force, if he had found no opportunity of treating, or in negotiating had failed, to have crossed the island, and on the south of the cock-pits, through Cave River, to have made a descent on the estates in the mountains of Clarendon, where he expected to find a more favourable disposition in the negroes than to the northward and westward; for in these parts, besides the great military force to awe the slaves, the majority of them were actually the determined enemies of the Maroons: whereas in Clarendon, whence the Maroons originally came, a degree of family connexion was still acknowledged among them, and emissaries had been employed to ascertain their inclination. What that really was, never appeared; but it was natural for Johnson to depend upon finding many friends in that quarter. Had the peace not been made, and had he crossed the country, it is not unlikely that the fertile parish of Clarendon would have been laid
in

in ashes. The consequences of transferring the seat of war may be easily imagined:—fatiguing marches, new quarters, new incampments, a new country to be studied, new scenes of action, concluding with another removal; and after similar consequences, other removals, by which the war might have been carried round the island, and perpetuated for years. But these consequences depended on the supposition, that Johnson's design of crossing the country could have been effected, of which there could be no doubt previous to the arrival of the chasseurs; but now his most dreaded foes, whose approach had raised the idea, were too near upon his skirts; and before he could have reached the place for the execution of his project, or attempted any enterprise, he would have been overtaken by the chasseurs, who, it may be supposed under such circumstances, would have been permitted to advance. Some persons entertained doubts respecting the result of an action between the chasseurs and the Maroons.

rooms. That their doubts were not resolved by experience, is not to be regretted. The greatest reliance was placed upon the former, not only by the General and his principal officers, but by the Governor, and the country. Notwithstanding this, General Walpole judged it prudent not to suffer them to act alone; nor would he hazard the most distant chance of removing the terror which had been inspired by the very idea of their arrival. To maintain this terror, and expel that which arose in the breasts of the Maroons from distrust of the faith of those with whom they were treating, was now General Walpole's chief endeavour: but he found it not so easy to succeed in the latter as in the former; and the resolution of the Maroons wavered for some time between the two motives of dread.

As soon as the Lieutenant-Governor received an account of the pacification with the Maroons, he left Major-General

Donald Campbell to command the troops on the south side*, and setting out for the north side, proceeded as far as Wemyss-Castle, where, on the 28th of December, he ratified General Walpole's treaty; fixing the 1st of January 1796 for the surrender and submission of the Maroons†. Distrust and apprehension prevailing among them, they did not come in with that promptness

* A practice has prevailed in the colonies of giving the rank of General officers to gentlemen who have commissions in the militia. In real service this must be attended with much inconvenience, for it is not to be supposed that men who occasionally appear on a parade, or on field-days two or three times a-year, and whose avocations are incompatible with great military knowledge, should be sufficiently skilled in tactics, to plan either offensive or defensive operations. It will happen that regular officers of very inferior rank must be suddenly created temporary or local commanders, or the service be left to hazard. This observation is far from being intended as the slightest reflexion on the officers of the colonial militia, whose bravery and intelligence are in these volumes proved indisputable, but the thing speaks for itself. In England, the officers of the militia never rise to the rank of a General.

† Votes of the House of Assembly. See Appendix, No. 3.

which

which had been hoped at first. On the 24th, only two, Smith and Dunbar, had arrived at head-quarters. Old Montague's doubts were not easily subdued. He recollected that he had once before surrendered, with six-and-thirty of his people, previous to the commencement of hostilities; his treatment in August was a check on his confidence in December, and although he had entered into the treaty, he became the chief obstacle to the performance of it; but in vain, for many of the Maroons told him that they were determined to have peace, whether he would or not. Several came in on the 28th, to whom General Walpole read Lord Balcarres's ratification of the treaty, endeavouring to satisfy them that no infringement of it would ensue, of which they seemed determined to be sure*. At length the 1st of January, the day fixed for the surrender of the whole, arrived,

* Votes of the House of Assembly.

and, to the great disappointment of General Walpole, it passed unnoticed. This was afterwards considered as a breach of the treaty, and literally it was; yet, perhaps, a great distinction might have been made, in the consideration of it, between a direct breach pregnant with defiance, and one that was suffered to take place through apprehension of severity: for such it was. The Maroons, terrified by the thoughts of the chasseurs, had resolved upon peace and submission, but fearful of their fate, they thought not of the particular consequence of such a breach; many straggled in, both before and after it was committed, and many could hardly prevail upon themselves to abandon their fastnesses and face their destiny: each was desirous that his neighbour should try the white faith first, and when one was satisfied, he returned and brought back most of his family*. With their fears, other causes combined to delay

* Votes of the House of Assembly.

the surrender of several, who had gone in quest of their families, and had found them sick and unable to travel; of some of their women lost at the time of the last action one only was found; and yet the extent of the delay was but a fortnight, if we except the small party with Palmer and Parkinson who were out three months*. Be this as it may, the failure of a general surrender on the 1st of January was construed to be a continuation of rebellion, and on the 5th, General Walpole received an order to advance with the dogs. The Spaniards began to be out of temper at not being permitted to act, and the General, who had hitherto been eager to entice in the dilatory Maroons rather than recur to force, now feared any longer temporizing, for, said

* It may also be thought that Smith, Dunbar, and those who surrendered on the 1st of January, were pledges for the coming in of their families; and that Johnson's messengers were a proof of his compliance, as General Walpole on going out met them coming in.

he, if the Spaniards cannot be kept*, it would be better to avail ourselves of the breach of the treaty by the Maroons, and to move on; as nothing can be clearer than that all treaty would soon terminate were they off the island †.

It would be useless to trace minutely the coming in of the Maroons, which was not completely effected till the 22d of March; however, some of the occurrences that took place may not be uninteresting. It was resolved that in marching, the troops should always precede the chasseurs, the very attendance of the latter being found to produce the desired effect. Wherever they went, terror flew before them, anticipating their operations. On the 12th of

* The dogs were growing too fat from want of exercise. While kept at their station on the hill at Vaughan's-field, they were never suffered to exercise, though it was requested by the Spaniards, who murmured very much, declaring that they would become unfit for action.

† Votes of the House of Assembly. See Appendix, No. 3.

January, as General Walpole was advancing, he received a message from Johnson, informing him that he and his party were coming to the cock-pit within the posts, and requesting that a supply of provisions might be ready for them. The General, notwithstanding, kept advancing, and on the 14th twenty-four more of the Maroons came in, and another messenger from Johnson, to say that the number of the sick he had with him would prevent his reaching the posts that day, but that he would not fail to be in next morning. Forty-nine came in the same day, and on the next, the 15th, General Walpole met Johnson with between fifty and sixty Maroons coming in: several bodies followed, making in all since the treaty three hundred and twenty-six, to whom those being added who had previously surrendered, the number of Trelawney Maroons in Lord Balcarres's possession on the 16th of January was four hundred. By Lord Balcarres's order the

Maroons were marched down to Montego Bay under escort. They were sent off at different times, General Walpole retaining with him several, consisting chiefly of the families of Johnson and Smith, for the purpose of influencing the remainder who were still out to surrender. Johnson and Smith particularly, were indefatigable in their exertions to bring them in, and succeeded with some; but Palmer and Parkinson, the two men who, we may remember, had been charged with advising the Maroons to set fire to their towns, and for whose heads a considerable reward had been offered, having from the hills which overlooked head-quarters observed the different bodies of those who had surrendered marched off towards Montego Bay with an escort of troops, conceived some treachery meant towards them, and with their party and some others, who, going in, were alarmed by a false report of the approach of the Spaniards and dogs, fled into the remoter cock-pits to the southward.

ward. This information was brought by Johnson and five other Maroons, who had been sent to prevail upon the rest to come in, and who in their return, after an absence of six days, the time allowed them, were accompanied by six additional able Maroons, and a great many women and children. Johnson and Smith evinced the greatest fidelity in the excursions they frequently made in quest of the body remaining in the woods, in which they never failed to persuade many to return with them. Johnson, while his people continued at head-quarters with him, kept them in great order, refusing them rum, and punishing the slightest disobedience.

Palmer and Parkinson in their flight had left a white flag at Pond River, where, on its being found, Smith turned to General Walpole and said, "Sir, we can bring them in as easy as kiss your hand." He pressed for a party of eight Maroons, to be accompanied by a detachment of the troops, but

but without dogs, to go in search of them : and both he and Johnson repeatedly assured General Walpole that they believed every man might now be brought in. The General was desirous of trying the experiment, but could not obtain the consent of Lord Balcarres, who had now removed to Dromilly, a little farther from head-quarters, and who thought, from Smith's application and the proposal of going without dogs, that not a moment was to be lost. General Walpole, however, conceived the loss to consist in letting slip the opportunity of bringing in all the Maroons that were out, and lamented it, while he obeyed his Lordship's orders of sending the Maroons to Montego Bay*.

The party out had now proceeded so far into the remoter recesses of the mountains, that it became very difficult to find them, without resorting to the measure of permitting the Spaniards to advance.

* Votes of the House of Assembly. See Appendix, No. 3.

They

They were more eager than ever, wishing to go out alone, and to remain, till they completed the business, in the woods; where they declared they could live for ever, for they afforded much more sustenance than those of their own country. They pointed out several articles of wholesome food, with which the Maroons were unacquainted; particularly a plant having the appearance of fern, with a thin, long root. This root, when grated, is equal to the best cassava, and there was an inexhaustible supply of it near Trelawney-Town.

On the 11th of February, Johnson and Smith returned from one of their excursions, bringing with them about thirty Maroons. Palmer and Parkinson, however, were not of the number: having received very exaggerated accounts of the Maroon affairs, and of what they had themselves to expect, they had removed, as I have already observed, with a small party

party to a considerable distance. General Walpole being determined to rout them, sent a detachment of the 13th light dragoons under Lieutenant Gubbins, accompanied by some of the chasseurs with their dogs, and a few of the Accompong Maroons as guides, in search of them. The party, ill supplied with provisions, and ignorant of any springs in the country through which they were to pass, entered the woods from the side of St. Elizabeth at One-Eye, with a resolution to penetrate either directly through the cock-pits, or up the banks of Hector's River*. After a persevering march of several days, in which the troops suffered extremely by thirst as well as fatigue, the commanding officer finding that his provisions would not hold out much longer, was under the necessity of returning from the woods.

On the 26th of February General Walpole, accompanied by Colonel Skinner,

* Votes of the House of Assembly.

marched

marched from Old Maroon-Town with
 detachments of the 13th light dragoons
 and 16th infantry, consisting of about
 eighty men, attended by a party of the
 Spanish chasseurs, and passing through El-
 derfly, Accompong-Town, and Aberdeen,
 was conducted by Colonel James Rowe,
 on the 29th, to a hill about a mile and a
 half behind the last place, whence a smoke
 had been frequently discovered, which
 was again seen this morning in a north-
 east direction, apparently at no great
 distance; and it was supposed that the
 party could reach the spot from which it
 rose, in the course of the day. They
 accordingly marched on till four o'clock
 in the afternoon, when they halted, and
 encamped in a large glade, at the foot of a
 very steep and rocky hill. Here the men
 complained of great thirst, and, on enquiry,
 the water carried for their supply was
 found to be nearly exhausted, there re-
 maining only half a pint for each man's
 allowance next day. In the morning the
 party

- o party moved forward about two miles, and then halted for information from a Spaniard who had been sent to the top of a high hill to reconnoitre, and who, on his return, reported that the smoke appeared to be still five miles distant. There was now no water left; nor was there any hope of procuring a supply, General Walpole therefore thought it necessary to order the return of the party. Upon this, Zeny, a Spaniard who was residing at Montego Bay when the chasseurs from Cuba arrived there, and who, at the invitation of the commissioner, had joined the other Spaniards as an interpreter, offered to proceed with the chasseurs, if the General would give him ten men. General Walpole refused to order the men to advance; but said he had no objection to ten volunteering the service, if Zeny thought he should be able to procure them a sufficient supply of water. Zeny was of an enterprising character; his spirit and conduct had raised him highly in the opinion of General

Walpole and the commissi^oner, through whose recommendation he had been made a captain of the Spaniards. He said, he had no doubt of procuring water enough for so small a party from the wild-pines, withes, and cotton-tree roots. Nine of the 13th light dragoons, headed by Quarter-master Wilkinson, immediately offered themselves as volunteers, and proceeded with Zeny and the Spaniards, accompanied by Mr. Lambert Tate*, a surgeon, Mr. Francis Robertson, a surveyor, and Smith the Maroon captain. Smith, according to his orders, after conducting the party a little way, returned to the main body, which soon after left the woods. The small party then marched forward two miles, and halted. At this time Robertson, being taken ill, sent his servant to examine the wild-pines and withes, which were found

* This gentleman, who was a great sufferer by the Maroon war, kept a journal of occurrences, an extract of which I was favoured with by Mr. Robertson, the gentleman to whom I am indebted for the map of the seat of the war. From that extract I have drawn up the account of this expedition into the woods.

to be dry. He strongly urged Zeny to return, observing, that from his knowledge of that part of the country, he was convinced that the party would be in great danger of perishing from thirst if they proceeded: but the Spaniard determined to push on at all events, and Robertson quitted them. Zeny now directed his march more to the northward, hoping, if the enterprize failed, to be able to reach Old Maroon-Town. In the evening the party passing two deserted huts, and entering a glade where thatch had been recently cut, it was supposed they were near the town. In this bottom Zeny encamped, judging it better to give rest to the men and the dogs, now exhausted with fatigue as well as thirst, and to advance on the Maroons in the morning with the day before him, when the enemy would be less able to avail themselves of their superior knowledge of the ground than in the night. The party had scarcely erected their huts, when the barking of a dog

was heard near them. They got immediately under arms, and, proceeding in the direction of the sound, discovered a negro endeavouring to make his escape. One of the Spanish dogs was sent after him. On coming up, the negro cut him twice with his muschet, on which the dog seized him by the nape of the neck, and secured him. He proved to be a runaway, said that he and two other negroes had deserted the Maroons a few days before, and that the party was at a great distance from the town, but that he would conduct them to it by noon next day. He told Captain Zeny that there was water in the town, but no where else. Early next morning, March the 3d, the party advanced, headed by the prisoner, and passed through a deserted town in which there were upwards of a hundred huts, situated in a large bottom surrounded by rocks. This was Johnson's town prior to his surrender. In the evening the party came up to two huts, where fires had been recently made. At this

place they halted for the night. The negro here informed them that they were within four hours march of the town; but the dragoons conceiving that he had purposely led them astray to destroy the party, became very impatient, threatening to shoot him, and to endeavour to return. They were however dissuaded, by their quarter-master and Captain Zeny, from their design, which it would have been impossible for them to effect, as they must have perished had they attempted another day's march without water. The one they had just accomplished had been truly distressing. The men in walking reeled as if intoxicated, and had frequently dropped in the way. They had moistened their mouths with their sweat, and would have drunk their own urine, had they not been dissuaded by the surgeon. The dogs were also worn out, and went on with great difficulty. In this situation Zeny despaired of succeeding by an attack; but conjecturing that the idea of the dogs being so near them would terrify,

terrify, and induce the Maroons to capitulate, he proposed sending a flag of truce into the town, by a negro man who had come with the party, to offer the terms accepted by Johnson, on condition of their immediate surrender. Tate the surgeon offered to go in with the flag, which Zeny thought too hazardous, and at first refused. The party advanced next morning by day-break, and marched till, according to their prisoner's account, they were within a mile of the town, when they halted; and Zeny, considering the forlorn state of their hope, consented to Mr. Tate's going in with the flag. "Here," said he to him, "I will wait two hours, after which, if I do not see Parkinson, Palmer, or yourself, I shall conclude you have been murdered, and I will proceed with the party to sell our lives as dearly as possible. But should you be able to prevail on either Parkinson or Palmer to come out and meet me, you may remain in the town as a hostage." Tate gave his arms to one of the men,

and advanced with the negro and their prisoner for their guide. At the distance of a quarter of a mile from the party, they came up to two fires burning, and a Maroon from the wood-side called to Tate, asking what a white man wanted there. Tate replied, that his business was with Parkinson or Palmer; on which he was told to go no farther, and that they should be sent to him. In about five minutes, Tate hailed the Maroon, and receiving no answer, proceeded on his way with the two negroes. They met several Maroons and runaways, some of whom were abusive and some silent, but none offered any violence. They were informed by the two negroes of the strength and situation of Zeny's party, but one of the Maroons going away said in an exulting tone; "We will punish buckra for true for coming here this time." Having walked on two miles instead of one beyond the party, Tate perceiving another Maroon on the top of a hill at the entrance of a defile,

pre-

presenting his gun at him, called out that he had business with Captain Parkinson. The Maroon made no answer, but kept his gun presented till Tate was very near the muzzle, when taking it from his shoulder, he said in a surly voice: "You one buckra may pass this time, but the next we see we all fire." There were about twenty men armed with guns and muskets in this defile, through which only one man could pass at a time. The town was situated at the bottom of the hill. Descending into it, Tate saw a Maroon giving orders to others, and addressing him, asked for Parkinson or Palmer. This proved to be Parkinson himself, who desired to know what he wanted. Tate told him that Captain Zeny, with a detachment of dragoons and the Spaniards, was close to the town, and had merely from motives of humanity, sent him in to offer them once more the terms which Johnson had accepted. "What are those terms?" said the Maroon. Tate said he

did not know. "What became of Captain Jarrat and the other captains who were taken up on their way to Spanish Town?" Of this Tate declared he was ignorant. "How were the Maroons situated at Montego-Bay?" The answer to this was, that Tate had seen Johnson and several others in Old Maroon-Town, who appeared perfectly happy, and that they received the same allowance of every thing as the soldiers. He further assured Parkinson that their wounded men had been regularly attended to and dressed. On this a Maroon, named Harding, came up and enquired for his son, who had received a ball through the fleshy part of the thigh. Being informed that his wound was nearly healed, the old man was greatly rejoiced, thanked Mr. Tate, and immediately became an advocate in his cause. Harding's conduct produced a favourable change in the minds of many, who became more placid and civil. Parkinson declared that it had long been his wish, as well as that
of

of the other Maroons, to come in, but that they had never been able to ascertain the terms on which they would be admitted. Tate advised him to go and meet Captain Zeny, on whose word he might depend, and who had full power from the Governor and General Walpole to treat with him. He urged his going immediately, as the time allowed by Zeny was nearly expired, offering to remain as a hostage; on which Parkinson conducted him to his hut, and went forward to meet the party. It was soon known by the Maroons that there was a good understanding between him and Zeny, and Tate was allowed to join them, accompanied by two boys loaded with canteens of water. It was agreed between Zeny and Parkinson, that Schaw, Parkinson's nephew, should go back with the party and hear the terms at head-quarters, and that if they were such as Zeny had mentioned, the Maroons should all come in. The troops and Spaniards being supplied with water, marched

out of the woods accompanied by Schaw, who on the 6th proceeded with the Spaniards to Old Maroon-Town, and soon after returned with Johnson and Smith to Parkinson and Palmer, who yielding to the terms offered them, agreed to surrender.

On the 16th of March four Maroons dispatched by Johnson arrived at Old Maroon-Town, and informed General Walpole that he was on his way with the whole remaining body of the Maroons. Some of them being hog-hunting, they could not be all collected at once; but on the 21st, Parkinson, with thirty-six of his party, surrendered, bringing with them forty-four stands of arms. The whole number now remaining in the woods was thirteen, and these, with the rest of the runaways, surrendered next day. Thus concluded hostilities, without recourse being once had to the assistance of the chasseurs, beyond the operation of the terror they inspired,

but which it was very evident had been the means of producing the treaty, and of accelerating the surrender of the several bodies whose distrust kept them back so long after it was made ; and who, as they gradually came in, always required that the Spaniards and dogs should be removed, and separated from them by a line of the troops. One knows not which to admire most, the activity and address with which they were procured, or the humanity that in spite of three months provocation prevented their being employed in action*.

* It is hardly worth while to mention an accident by which an old woman lost her life, but it has been suggested that the omission of it may receive an unfavourable construction. One of the dogs that had been unmuzzled to drink when there was not the least apprehension of any mischief, went up to the woman, who was sitting attending to a pot in which she was preparing a mess. The dog smelled at it, and was troublesome ; this provoked her, she took up a stick and began to beat him, on which he seized on her throat, which he would not let go till his head was severed from his body by his master. The wind-pipe of the woman being much torn, she could not be saved.

To

To the skill, temper, and benevolence of General Walpole are the colonists, whom he had a little before saved from humiliation, indebted for this bloodless triumph ; and to William Dawes Quarrell are they indebted for suggesting, and procuring the means by which the island was saved from destruction. “ We cannot but take this opportunity,” say the Assembly, in requesting the Lieutenant-Governor to give orders for the dismissal of the chasseurs, “ of expressing our acknowledgments of the eminent advantages derived from the importation of the chasseurs and dogs, in compliance with the general wishes of the island. Nothing can be clearer, than that if they had been off the island, the rebels could not have been induced to surrender, from their almost inaccessible fastnesses. We are happy to have it in our power to say, that terror excited by the appearance of the dogs, has been sufficient to produce so fortunate an event ; and we cannot

cannot but highly approve that attention to humanity so strongly proved by their being ordered in the rear of the army”*.

* Votes of the House of Assembly. See Appendix, No. 3.

On the wisdom of the treaty there could be, and there was, but one opinion. It was universally approved. Very naturally, however, the execution of it gave rise to a difference, which ended in the

LETTER XIII.

Contrary Opinions respecting General Walpole's Treaty with the Maroons.—Meeting of some of the Members of the Council and Assembly.—Special Secret Committee of the Council and Assembly.—Their Resolutions respecting the Treaty.—Their Reasons.—General Walpole dissatisfied.—His Reasons.—The Banishment of the Maroons desirable on their own Account.—Public Submission and Oath of the Windward Maroons.—The Trelawney Maroons sent to Kingston.—Exceptions in favour of some of them.—The Favour waved.—Observations.—Thanks and a Sword voted to Lord Balcarres.—The same to General Walpole, who declines receiving the Sword.—Resolution of the Assembly to expunge his Answer from their Minutes.—Reward voted to Colonel Quarrell for his Services.—Monument to the Memory of the Slain.—Reward of the Chasseurs. Their Departure.

ON the wisdom of the treaty there could be, and there was, but one opinion. It was universally approved. Very unfortunately, however, the execution of it gave rise to a difference, which ended in the

the resignation of the honourable and distinguished officer by whom it had been so judiciously effected. He quitted, in disgust, a profession in which he was eminently calculated to shine; and, by his retiring, the service lost an honest and gallant soldier. A consequence that renders it necessary for me to state the nature of the cause of it, and the counter opinions that were entertained on the subject.

On the 24th of December, on receiving information of the pacification, the Governor called a meeting of such members of the Council and Assembly as could be convened, who, taking the treaty into consideration, resolved: "That if the Trelawney Maroons, according to the third article of their treaty, delivered up the run-aways that had joined them, and if they, according to the first article of their treaty, laid down their arms, which arms were to be taken away from them, that then, and in such case, General Walpole's secret article ought
to

to be ratified, as far as their not being sent off the island; but that they were to remain in Jamaica, subject to such regulations as the Governor, Council, and Assembly, might think proper to enact in that respect." A day had been appointed by General Walpole for the surrender of the Maroons, which elapsed without compliance. Of this the General informed Lord Balcarres, previous to his ratification of the treaty*; but his Lordship so highly approved of the terms, that he made no hesitation in ratifying it, and appointed a subsequent day for the surrender. The new-fixed day also elapsed without the desired effect. The Maroons surrendered by degrees, as they were terrified by information of the approach of the chasseurs, or induced by the representation of those sent to them by General Walpole to encourage them to come in: although the great body of them had surrendered in a short time, it

* Votes of the Assembly. See Appendix, No. 3.

was three months from the date of the treaty before they were all got in ; and the runaway negroes were not formally delivered up. In the interval, the transportation of the Maroons became the subject of conversation, and reaching General Walpole's ears about the middle of March, he expostulated upon it with Lord Balcarres. He expressed his uneasiness at the report of the legislature's meaning to infringe the capitulation accepted by him, and ratified by his Lordship. He said, that as it was through him alone that the Maroons were induced to surrender, from their reliance on his word, from a conviction impressed upon them by him that the white people would never break their faith, he felt himself called upon to see a due observance of the terms, or in case of violation to resign his command. Lord Balcarres, in reply, assured him, that if the terms of the treaty were complied with by the Maroons, he should be of opinion with him, that the country was bound in honour

honour not to send them off the island ; but that he thought the country had a right to every advantage the treaty afforded, and that he should certainly leave it to the legislature to decide whether it had been observed or not. To make this decision, a special secret committee was appointed, composed of members of the Council and Assembly. General Walpole requested of the committee to be permitted to give his evidence to them ; which, without reflecting that he who had made the treaty, had a moral right to be heard in evidence upon it, they waved, observing, that they had had full information from the Lieutenant-Governor on all the points before them*.

* This does not seem to have been in conformity with the sentiments of Lord Balcarres, who in his letter of the 9th of March to General Walpole, says ; “ From the high situation which you have filled, from the intercourse and conversations you have had with these Maroons, and above all, that these unhappy people may have every circumstance adduced to the Assembly that can operate in their favour, it may be fair and right in you to give an opinion, if you are so inclined, how far, in your conception, these people have complied with the articles of the treaty.”—*Notes of the Assembly.*

The

The decision of the committee was made in ten resolutions*. By the third, they were of opinion that the Maroons who surrendered at Vaughans-field, under the proclamation of the 8th of August, together with the six captains taken up at St. Ann's in their way to Spanish Town, having come in *before any actual hostilities*, should be sent off the island. By the fourth, they were of opinion that Smith, Dunbar, and Williams, with their wives and children, and the two boys who came in on the 1st of January, were entitled to the benefit of the treaty. By the seventh and eighth, they were of opinion that all the Maroons who surrendered after the 1st of January, including Johnson and his party, ought to be shipped off the island. The decision for transporting the Maroons was grounded on their breach of the treaty in two points: the failure of surrender at the time prescribed; and the neglect of delivering up the run-

* Votes of the Assembly. Appendix, No. 3.

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aways who had joined them, and most of whom came in as Maroons. On the other hand, General Walpole and his friends conceived the treaty not to have been sufficiently infringed by the Maroons to warrant the decision. Their delay in coming in the General considered so far a breach as to justify the modes he used of terrifying them by means of the chasseurs to surrender, but his chief endeavour had been to remove their fears of the consequences of their coming in, and to convince them that the terms agreed to should be sacredly fulfilled*; therefore not to keep those terms, was to put him in the situation of a deceiver, or of a cat's-paw†. In about a fortnight they had all surrendered, except a small party of thirty or forty, who continued out with Palmer and Parkinson‡. The Maroons, as they came in, conceived

* Votes of the Assembly. Appendix, No. 3.

† He was fearful lest he should appear to have drawn the Maroons into a treaty which he knew was afterwards to be broken.

‡ Votes of the Assembly. Appendix, No. 3.

it was upon the terms of the treaty. The very last party, as we have seen, were of that opinion. They had committed no hostility, and were withheld chiefly by distrust, to obviate which, the general had been very reluctant in obeying the repeated orders of Lord Balcarres for marching the Maroons to Montego Bay, particularly on account of the families of Johnson and Smith, well knowing the effect it would have on being perceived from the hills by their distrustful comrades, who had spies placed there, and did actually draw the conclusion of treachery from their removal*. The field officers on the spot never differed in opinion†. In short, their conduct and his could not but be considered as a perpetually renewed pledge of the terms of peace, from which no assembly in the world could release him. As to the neglect of delivering up the runaways, the fire-arms had been taken from them as a preparatory measure; and

* Votes of the Assembly. Appendix, No. 3. † Ibid.

so far was the suffering them to come in in the character of Maroons from being a proof of a breach, that it was to be esteemed the very reverse, for apprehending that the runaways would escape, as several did, Smith had advised the project*, the better to secure them; and they were ultimately pointed out.

Be the force of these opinions on either side what it may, certain it is that the Assembly thought that the situation of the country would be rendered more secure by the removal of the Maroons from the island, and in this opinion they were supported by that of a very high authority in England, who judged it to be the preferable plan of disposing of them, if it could be done with propriety†. After all, it was not perhaps less the interest of the Maroons themselves than of the colonists, that they should be removed.

* Votes of the Assembly. Appendix, No. 3.

† Duke of Portland's Letter to Lord Balcarras. Appendix, No. 3.

A cordial reconciliation between them and the white people was hardly to be expected, while the inherent animosity of the slaves would have received an inexhaustible supply of fuel from their humiliation. Driven from the dangerous regions of their strength and proud defiance, disarmed, and restricted to some open situation at a distance from their native mountains; controlled in all their motions, degraded from the superior character they had sustained, insulted and reviled, their existence, even were that to have been left safe by the slaves, would have been a burden rather than an enjoyment. Their removal, therefore, wanted nothing but the motive, and the certainty of a place of rest, to have made it an act of mercy. They were themselves soon convinced that it was the preferable alternative, and as such became perfectly resigned to it.

Let us now return to the order of the narrative. On the 18th of March, the

windward Maroons, who we may remember had shown a spirit of disobedience by quitting their quarters in Spanish Town and returning home, made a public submission on their knees, and took the oath of allegiance to his Majesty, in the presence of commissioners expressly appointed. The Trelawney Maroons, who, as they surrendered, had been sent into confinement at Montego Bay and St. Ann's, were now removed to Kingston, some being sent round in vessels and some marched across the country, preparatory to their final banishment. It having been recommended by the joint-committee to the Lieutenant-Governor, to permit some of the Maroons who had distinguished themselves by their repentance and subsequent good behaviour, to remain in the island, and to grant them such other marks of favour as he should think proper, Lord Balcarres gave orders for Johnson, Smith, Williams, Dunbar, and others, with their families, to be permitted to land; but these, led by their feelings to

wave

wave the distinction, petitioned to share the exile of their companions, and to be provided for in the same manner*. All the Maroons now yielded without reluctance to their fate, strongly impressed with the idea that, if they were landed and permitted without arms to make their way home, it would require a strong military force to protect them from being cut to pieces by the slaves and free people of colour.

Thus terminated a war by which one of the finest colonies of Great Britain was

* They were told they might land with their families. Smith had four wives, and he and the others extended their ideas of family so far, that a great number would have been landed:—but, on being informed that they were allowed only one wife each, and her young children, they preferred going. Smith, Williams, and Dunbar, we saw, were of right exempted from banishment, according to the decision of the committee; but the decision of nature was obeyed. Did these men regard their wives as so many beasts of burden, and feel no more concern at the loss of one of them than as a planter at the loss of a bullock? Was it a common thing for them to seize their own infants, and dash them to death against a rock, for crying? See *Edwards's Account of the Maroons*.

threatened with total destruction. The accounts received of it at the time were misunderstood and misrepresented. On the one hand, the Maroons were stated to be the fiercest and most inhuman of savages; and on the other, the very idea of the use of Spanish dogs was reprobated as a proof of greater barbarity being practised by the colonists. Time, that opens the avenues to reason which passion and prejudice close up, evinces the employment of the Spanish chasseurs to have been both prudent and humane; and has also divested the character of the Maroons of that barbarous savageness with which exaggeration painted it when the passions of men called for high colouring. That they would sacrifice those whom they considered as their enemies, and that they strove to excite terror by their actions, cannot be denied: but many of the horrors attributed to them are void of foundation. "Even women in child-bed and infants at the breast, were alike indiscriminately slaughtered by this savage enemy," says Edwards, "and the shrieks

shrieks of the miserable victims, which were distinctly heard at the posts of the British detachments, frequently conveyed the first notice that the Maroons were in the neighbourhood." This was not the fact: no woman in child-bed, no infant at the breast, was ever put to death by a Maroon, no shrieks heard at the posts of the British detachments. "Proceeding to a plantation of Dr. Brooks," says the same author, "they burnt the buildings to the ground, and killed two white men who opposed them. They left, however, a white woman and her infant unmolested; and as this was the first instance of tenderness shown by the rebels to women and children, it was imputed rather to the consciousness of their inability to continue the war, and the hopes of getting better terms on a treaty by this act of lenity, than to any change in their disposition." To kill men and burn buildings at the very moment that a due regard is shown to age and sex, can be no proof that a treaty of peace was in contemplation. This circumstance

cumstance took place early in the war; Brooks's was one of the first houses burnt, and was set on fire by Johnson's party, just after his return from finding his own settlement destroyed. He had before advised the Maroons to sue for peace, but at this time he breathed nothing but vengeance, and had his passions ever led him to such horrid violations of humanity as he has been charged with, it would have been now. After other hostile incursions, he was proceeding to Brooks's, near which, and in his way, stood a small house belonging to a white woman, whose name was Letitia Mahoney, who had several small children. The woman on seeing him was terrified, and at her first emotion thought of flying from him, but he called to her not to be afraid, and coming up to her, told her he was not fighting with women and infants, and that no harm should be done to her or her children, but that the party were going to kill the white men who were at Brooks's. He then advised her to keep out of the way

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of

of their shot, and directed her with her children to a safe place. Some years have now elapsed since the events of this war, and justice and truth need no longer be suppressed by policy.

The war being now concluded, the Assembly took into consideration the eminent services that had been rendered to their country. To Lord Balcarres they voted thanks, and seven hundred guineas to purchase a sword. To General Walpole they also voted thanks, and five hundred guineas for the same purpose. His Lordship, conscious of having done his duty as a soldier, whose honour he thought placed with emblem and emphasis in his sword, declared he should transmit the precious gift to his posterity as an everlasting mark of the reverence, the attachment, and gratitude he bore to the island of Jamaica. General Walpole, on receiving the Votes of the House, wrote to the Speaker of the Assembly, acknowledging their condescension, giving a great part
of

of the merit of his success to the zeal, skill, and gallantry of Colonel Skinner and the rest of his field officers, and declaring that without their assistance all his endeavours must have failed. He declined, however, the honour intended him by the vote for a sword, which he conceived he could not with credit to himself receive, as the House had thought fit not to accede to the agreement entered into by him and the Trelawney-Town Maroons, and as their opinion of that treaty stood on their minutes very different from his conception of it. This letter the Assembly considered, as containing a misrepresentation of their proceedings, and to be couched in terms disrespectful and derogatory to the honour and dignity of the House, and ordered it to be expunged from their minutes*.

In estimating the eminent services rendered to the island, we cannot but suppose

* Votes of the Assembly.

that

that those of Colonel Quarrell became the subject of the Assembly's thanks and reward, as they had previously been the topic of the admiration and gratitude of the country at large. His arrival from Cuba had illumined every countenance with joy; and to the success of his mission the community, in their ardour, had ascribed the salvation of the island. They had celebrated, in terms of rapture, the energy and activity that had overcome difficulties apparently insurmountable, his disregard of personal safety, his exposure at sea, his risk on shore, and had loudly proclaimed him entitled to as substantial marks of public esteem as could be gained by the most splendid military achievement. In doing this, they had reflected on the many lives that might have been lost, the plantations that might have been burnt, the hundred thousands of pounds that might have been added to the tax-rolls, before the spreading evil could have been stopped by the ordinary mode of war, had even that melancholy hope been realized:

many

many tears, much private distress, much public expence, they had gratefully owned, had been saved by the wisdom and address with which the cause of their joy had been planned and executed. The Assembly too, in addressing the Lieutenant-Governor, had done justice in some measure to this opinion of the public, by stating that “ nothing was clearer than that if the chasseurs had been off the island, the rebels could not have been induced to surrender from their almost inaccessible fastnesses: and by declaring in express terms, that the submission of the Maroons was owing to them*.” Having the services of Colonel Quarrell in contemplation, with a full knowledge of the sentiments of the country, and of their own opinion, they voted him as a reward, the sum of seven hundred pounds currency †, unaccompanied by

* Votes of the Assembly. See Appendix, No. 3.

† Seven hundred pounds currency is five hundred pounds sterling, which, payable in Jamaica, was at that time, according to the rate of exchange, equal to four hundred and twenty-five pounds payable in London.

: hesitated and again refused : thanks

thanks, or any notice whatever. I feel an almost irresistible inclination to comment on this vote, in spite of the injunction I have received to the contrary, nor can I refrain from making a general observation, the truth of which is supported by it. The generality of mankind are indisposed to see or to reward the merit of their equals, while they are prompt enough to distinguish those who are already above them, as well as to extol and exalt their inferiors. Colonel Quarrell was a member of the Assembly. He treated the vote with great good humour: "Gentlemen," said he, when he met them in private, "I do not consider your vote as an insult, because I am persuaded it is not meant to be one; but a pecuniary recompence should at least have been adequate to time and trouble. What attorney among you does not get more for riding at his ease once a-year from one side of the island to the other? You might, methinks, have bestowed a more flattering distinction on me, and at a less expence. I

once

once, when but a boy from school, received, with others, the thanks of the Assembly for my exertions against the slaves who were in rebellion when I came to the island:—perhaps I do not deserve it less now; and when you were voting swords, I think you might at least have voted me a small couteau, or Spanish muschet.”

On the termination of the war, a committee was appointed to enquire into losses sustained by individuals, that they might obtain relief. Nor were the dead forgotten: the House of Assembly took into consideration the honours due to those who had fallen in the service of the country during the rebellion, and voted a monument to perpetuate the memory of them, and the gratitude of the island.

Seven thousand dollars were voted to the chasseurs, who had been retained in the public service for a longer time than
speci-

specified in their contract; and a provision was made for their return to their own country. It is greatly to be lamented that these people did not leave the island so satisfied as might have been expected, and as would have been the case, had not some evil-minded low traders in Montego Bay taken pains to persuade them, that they were entitled to the full specific rewards for every Maroon that came in, as they had been proclaimed. They also got into some unfortunate squabbles and riots with sailors, in which mischief was done on both sides, and a few of them were imprisoned, but were discharged on an investigation made by the magistrates of the town. How they were received on their return to Cuba is not known, but, on their departure for Jamaica, they carried with them the gratitude and warm wishes of all the colonists.

LETTER XIV.

Transportation of the Irelawney Maroons.—Canada Plan.—Negroes healthy in a cold Climate.—Sum voted by the House of Assembly for removing the Maroons to America.—William Dawes Quarrell appointed Commissary-General.—Purport of his Commission.—Departure of the Maroons.—Conduct during their Passage to Halifax in Nova Scotia.—Arrival and Reception there.—Visited by Prince Edward.—Their Loyalty.—Suffered to land, and employed on the Works at the Citadel.—In general Favour.—Arrival of Dispatches from the Duke of Portland.—The Governor of the Province undertakes to make Arrangements for the Settlement of the Maroons.—The Commissary-General communicates his Sentiments on the Subject to the Island of Jamaica.—Lands at Preston purchased.—State of the Place.—Navigation from the Bay of Fundy to Halifax.—Facility of opening a Communication by the River Schubennaccadie.—Advantages that would attend it.—Maroons remove to Preston.—Military Commissions given to some of them.—Appointments made by the Governor in the Maroon Establishment.—Attempt to convert the Maroons.—Their Objections to Marriage.—Uproar among the Women.—The Commissary-General desirous of quitting Nova Scotia.—Resolutions of the House of Assembly of Jamaica respecting a final Provision for the Maroons.

THE transportation of the Maroons having been resolved upon by the decision of the joint

joint committee of the Council and Assembly, it became necessary to adopt some plan respecting a place for their destination. Unsettled lands in North America were thought of, as remote from the ocean as possible, from an apprehension that a maritime situation would afford them opportunities to escape and return to the island of Jamaica. The gentleman who had suggested the plan for reducing the Maroons, now proposed Upper Canada as the most eligible situation for their final settlement. Colonel Quarrell had some years before travelled through that country, in which Governor Simcoe was now extending colonial establishments with great judgment and perseverance; and it appeared to him, that these people might, by that officer's judgment, be so settled and disposed of as to become a valuable acquisition to his government. On surrendering Detroit, which by the definitive treaty with America was to be given up to the United States, that active and intelligent officer was appointed by his Majesty to attend

to the colonization and improvement of the British territories on the other side of the boundary ; and so rapid and successful were his enterprises, that in the very short course of his administration large cultivated districts and several beautiful towns had risen in those vast forests and endless wilds. In this country it was, placed in different districts, or kept together in one body, as the wisdom of General Simcoe should direct, that the island of Jamaica intended, on a very liberal estimate, to dispose of the body of people who had given them so much uneasiness ; to provide them with lands, houses, implements of husbandry, and every comfort that could be expected, and to maintain them also for a time, till they had rendered themselves independent. Whatever be the fate of the questions respecting the commencement of hostilities, and the observance of the treaty with the Maroons, this design demands the highest praise. It was noble, and had it been accomplished, would perhaps have outweighed the worst construction that could have

have been given in the solution of those questions. The Maroons, thus disposed of, would have been furrounded by industrious cultivators, with increasing population. Led by example to industry, and remote from the profligacy and dissipation of a sea-port, they would soon have acquired a tractability of manners suitable to their situation, and conducive to the general good. Many of them might have been usefully employed by the Governor in different ways, particularly as guards for depôts of all kinds, whether commercial or military, for which they were well suited. The distance from the sea, and the difficulty of reaching it, would at once have banished every idea of ever seeing Jamaica again, and would have rooted from their minds all hope of returning, a hope which we shall find, on being excited, rendered them averse to the labour of cultivation. Had they reached Quebec in July, which, from the period of their departure from Jamaica might have been the case, they would, allowing every possible delay, have arrived

at the place proposed for them in the month of October, and at no greater expence for conveyance and maintenance than was incurred for three months support where they were eventually landed. It may not be improper to observe here, that the climate of Upper Canada is by no means to be compared for severity with that of Lower Canada. Even at Quebec and Montreal, a distance of only one hundred and ninety miles, the climate varies considerably. The river St. Lawrence, running a north-easterly course through the lakes Ontario and Erie, leaves the parts of the British empire in America towards the streights of Detroit in a latitude considerably to the southward, and in a climate far more favourable than any through which it runs towards its entrance into the gulph that bears the same name. There the north-easterly winds from the coast of Labradore and frozen regions of the North, which occasion the severity of the cold at Halifax and Quebec, have no influence. Nor are we to estimate the
state

state of the atmosphere by what is experienced in the same latitude in the province of Maine, or any where between the river St. Croix and Boston, for it is infinitely colder on the eastern coast, where the winter is of longer duration than in the interior, and the summer not near so warm. In fact, the winter at Detroit is very little, if at all, severer than in Pennsylvania or Maryland. These observations are made on a supposition that a cold climate is generally understood to be insupportable by negroes. The proposition, however, which has been taken for granted, may perhaps on examination be overturned. The structure of the body of man, as well as of his mind, is the subject of habit; but the habits of the former yield more readily to change than those of the latter. It is proved by experience, that negroes can endure the severity of a cold climate as well as white people, if equally well cloathed. The winter in the states of Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, and New York, is known to be very

sharp, and in those countries negroes are mixed with the white people as labourers, a great many of them being employed in farming and the most laborious occupations. In Long Island, negroes, and those chiefly slaves, compose a half of the peasantry *. If in these places, where they are in general more exposed than the white people, they can support the inclemency of the climate, we may fairly conclude that they can exist and thrive in every region inhabited by white people. Whether it be equally pleasing, is another question. It may be well imagined, that at first the pinching of frost will not be agreeable to fibres accustomed to the full flow of blood produced by the rarefaction of the torrid zone; but time, the nurse of habit, corrects this acuteness of sensation, and accommodates corporeal sensibility to the influence of

* The Governor of Nova Scotia supplies the argument with the testimony of his experience, in the cases of the black loyalists and other negroes removed from a warm climate to that of Halifax. Vide his letter to the Duke of Portland, dated Halifax, 29th October, 1796.—*Votes of Assembly*, 1801.

climate. In some parts of Nova Scotia there are families of negroes settled, enjoying, as farmers, comforts equal to those of their white neighbours, and some of them possess moderate properties. But whatever the force of this opinion in its full extent, at least the climate of Upper Canada was sufficiently temperate for the plan proposed. After a certain time, had any of the Maroons been dissatisfied with their situation, they might themselves have removed to the southward, whither they would probably have been enticed by the Americans. Supposing they had taken a southern route, the navigation of the Wabash or Miamis rivers would have led them into Kentucky, or to other parts of the Ohio, where they would have had summer enough and plenty of work, in a country improving in cultivation and increasing in population. Parties of them would probably have settled in different spots of that region of America, and in a few years the name of Maroon would have been lost in the general character of the free negro of America.

Although

Although this plan for removing the Maroons to Upper Canada was generally approved, it was not formally adopted by the legislature, but twenty-five thousand pounds were voted for the purpose of carrying the transportation of them into execution; and a law was passed making their return, and harbouring them, death without benefit of clergy. Colonel Quarrell, who had suggested the Canada plan, was appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor commissary-general to accompany them, to provide and procure them suitable clothing and maintenance during their confinement on shipboard, and for a reasonable time after they were landed in any other country; and he was authorized and required to cause the Maroons to be landed *in any part or parts of North America*, due permission being first obtained; and, being landed, to provide by purchase such a quantity of land as might be adequate for their habitations, and might afford them by its cultivation the means of supporting themselves and their families; and

and to supply them with such tools and implements as might be necessary to enable them to cultivate the lands purchased for them.

As there were at this time some transports in the harbour bound to Europe, it was thought a good opportunity of engaging them to land the Maroons in America. Proper preparations being made for the passage, a quantity of suitable cloth, linen, and other articles, laid in to be made up while at sea, and the agent for the transports entrusted with the care of provisions, the Maroons were disposed of in three ships, the Dover, Mary, and Ann, according to the accommodation afforded in each, a due regard being paid to placing families together. The remains of the 96th regiment, from St. Domingo, were embarked as guards, and on the 6th of June, 1796, the transports sailed from Port Royal Harbour, in company with a large fleet bound to Europe, under convoy of his Majesty's ship Africa, Captain Home, with the Reasonable, Iphigenia, and Scorpion.

pion. On leaving Jamaica, the commissary-general was directed by the Lieutenant-Governor to proceed to Halifax, and to remain there till his Majesty's pleasure was made known to him, which, on a moderate calculation, from the date of the dispatches sent home on the subject by Lord Balcarres, might be expected about a fortnight after the arrival of the transports at that port. The commissary-general had a deputy and a surgeon appointed to attend the Maroons, and was furnished by Lord Balcarres with explanatory letters to Sir John Wentworth, Governor of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward, Commander in Chief of the forces, and Admiral Murray. During the voyage, which was six weeks, the Maroons behaved in the most orderly manner, and showed the greatest alacrity in performing every duty required of them. They were stationed at the guns. On the passage seventeen of them died, which was but a small number in comparison with the mortality on board the *Dover* among the sailors and invalids,

invalids. The commissary, having left Jamaica with a perfect confidence of being authorized to put into execution the plan he had suggested for settling the Maroons, and considering the port of Halifax as intended only for a place to halt at till his Majesty's pleasure should be known, had made every arrangement for carrying it into effect, and that no unnecessary delay might be occasioned at Halifax, the warm cloathing for the Maroons had been made up during the passage. The cloaths were made in a uniform manner, preserving only such distinctions in those of a few of the officers as was thought proper to support their authority for the welfare of the rest. On the banks of the American coasts the transports parted with the homeward bound fleet. One of them having separated from the Dover and the other in a fog, arrived on the 21st of July in Halifax harbour, where the two others anchored on the 23d. About four miles below the town, the Dover was boarded by a man of war's boat, in which the

commissary obtained a passage, and upon landing, found that an order had been issued by His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, to prevent any one being landed from the transports. A report so unfavourable to the Maroons had preceded them, that the inhabitants had expressed the greatest fear of their being permitted to come on shore. The commissary, having waited on the Admiral in town, and on the Prince and the Governor at their houses in the country, and delivered his letters; and having assured them of the orderly conduct of the Maroons since their embarkation, thought it proper to write some account of them, in order to give such assurances as would remove all apprehension of the dangers with which the inhabitants had been alarmed. This statement being communicated to His Royal Highness, and circulated among the principal persons of the place, had its desired effect.

The curiosity of the Prince being greatly excited to see a body of people who had
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made such an opposition to a regular military force, and who had for months protracted a war against so great a superiority, desired the commissary to attend him on board the transports. The Maroons were prepared for the occasion, and being dressed in their new cloathing, made a very handsome appearance. His Royal Highness, on going into the Dover, found the detachment of the 96th regiment drawn up on the after-part of the quarter-deck, their arms rested, and music playing; the Maroon men in a uniform dress in lines on each side the whole length of the ship, and the women and children forward, dressed clean and neat. The Prince was no less surpris'd with the novelty of the sight and the decent and orderly appearance presented by the Maroons, than pleas'd with the uniformity and propriety of their dress. Accustomed to view lines of men with a very discriminating eye, the just proportion of their limbs, their height, and their neatness, did not escape the notice of His Royal Highness. He remarked

that they possessed in these an excellence not observable in the other classes of negroes he had seen, and said he thought them well adapted to military service. He spoke to some of the captains, who, in addressing him, called him *Massa Prince*, and *Massa King's Son*. His Royal Highness, though acquainted with the circumstances under which they were, and that Halifax was only a place of temporary residence, could not view such strength and vigour in a state of inactivity, without a wish to have them usefully employed. At this time the French squadron under Richery was off the coast to the northward, and had been committing ravages on the fishing stations of Newfoundland. From the magnitude of his force, it was not unlikely that he should attempt a descent at Halifax, where every preparation was making to receive him. The fortifications, however, were not sufficiently completed so as to bid him defiance, and the Prince, in order to accelerate the finishing of them, proposed to permit the landing of the Ma-
roons,

rooms provided they would work on the citadel, a very extensive fortification, intended for the defence of the town, and lately begun to be erected. On the proposal being communicated to them, they unanimously declared that they would work or do any thing for Massa Prince, or for Massa King, freely and without pay. And here it may be observed that it was not only in Nova Scotia that they manifested their reverence for the very name of the King; he had ever been a favourite with them in the mountains of Trelawney. Negroes in general have no notions of equality: among themselves some families are held in higher estimation than others, and no people pay a greater deference to their superiors than they to their chiefs. When the negroes in St. Domingo were excited to take arms against the royalists, it was under the idea that the latter were rebelling against the will of the king. The testimony of loyalty given by the Maroons, could not but be pleasing to Prince Edward, but his Royal Highness would by no means accept of

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their services without a compensation, and they agreed to receive the usual pay of such labour. It being the height of summer, temporary houses were made of boards, and others hired for them near the town and citadel; some tents were pitched, and the Governor allotted the barns of his farm near the place for the same purpose. The whole body was accordingly landed and marched to their quarters. Providing for them in this situation was extremely expensive, every necessary article of life increasing in value. In a short time this dreadful banditti were considered as a great acquisition to the country. The little money they brought with them, and what they acquired by their labours, was spent in the town, whence also the necessary supplies for immediate use were furnished, so that intelligence of their re-embarkation would now have been most unwelcome. The lines of the citadel were raised with rapidity, and the Maroon-bastion, completed under the direction of Prince Edward, will long remain

remain a monument of the active industry of the people whose name it bears. Pleased with the conduct and utility of the Maroons, and the advantages already flowing from their short residence, the governor of the province hastened to acquaint his Majesty's ministers with the happy issue of their landing, and in a letter to the Duke of Portland represented the pleasure expressed by the Maroons, and their desire of being settled in the country. The kindness with which they were received, their removal from the transports in which they had been long confined, and the pleasant state of the weather at the time they arrived, were just grounds for the satisfaction they expressed, and a general joy was diffused both among them and the inhabitants on the arrival of the dispatches relative to them from the Duke of Portland, which were received by the Governor nearly about the time they were expected. In these dispatches his Grace recommended the Maroons to the care and protection of the Governor, and gave in-

structions for their being settled in the province of Nova Scotia, provided it could be done without injury to the colony *. The liberal intentions of Jamaica testified in the commissary-general's commission, where the vote of twenty-five thousand pounds was recited, was generally considered with great satisfaction, and the Governor, highly pleased with the charge, undertook to make such arrangements for the settlement of the Maroons as he judged proper, to which the commissary, on the communication of the Duke of Portland's letter, thought himself under the necessity of implicitly submitting.

At this juncture the commissary was attacked by a fever, for the third time since he left Jamaica, and was confined to his bed in so dangerous a state, that two of his physicians advised him to prepare for a serious issue of his disorder. In this situation being urgently required by his

* Votes of the Assembly.

deputy as well as by the Governor, his intended successors in the superintendency of the Maroon settlement, and anxious that no impediment might arise in the outset of it, he was induced to draw bills of exchange on the correspondents of the Receiver-General of Jamaica in London, in favour of a house recommended by the Governor, for six thousand pounds sterling, as a deposit fund for intended purchases, and also to send an order for certain stores pointed out by his Excellency; arrangements which he informed the commissary it was incumbent on his Excellency to report to his Grace the Duke of Portland *. The commissary's disorder terminated more favourably than was expected, and when he was able to attend to business, the Governor pointed out to him some land and houses at a place called Preston, about five miles from Halifax, on the opposite side of the harbour, as the most eligible for a purchase, for a considerable

* Votes of the Assembly.

part of which he had previously agreed. Although the measures now adopted overturned his original plan, and the settling the Maroons in a body seemed not to him to promise the speediest relief to Jamaica, he thought it incumbent upon him to forward the Governor's views, on the principles he had embraced under the sanction received from England. But a credit of ten thousand pounds sterling brought with him out of the vote of twenty-five thousand, being soon exhausted, he was obliged to apply for more, and he at the same time very freely communicated to the Assembly of Jamaica his sentiments respecting the proceedings with the Maroons, stating the impolicy of keeping them in a body, and predicting that the island would not be soon released from the burden of supporting them. When the commissary recovered sufficiently to visit the purchased lands, he found them in general extremely barren, and learned that the situation had been before occupied and deserted by two
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successive bodies of people; the first, disbanded soldiers, the other, the black loyalists of America, slaves who had abandoned their masters in the contest with Great Britain, and who at the conclusion of the war had been allowed to settle there. These had been induced by the agents of the Sierra Leone company to quit so unprofitable a situation and embark for the settlement in Africa. Nor did the vicinity of Halifax, which was stated as an advantage, appear desirable to the commissary, who thought it an inducement to the Maroons to undertake employments offered by the town, and to neglect the improvement of their lands.

There was, indeed, one plan which, had the commissary been able or empowered to execute, might have proved highly beneficial to the island of Jamaica, and put it in the power of the Maroons themselves to have defrayed by their labour every expence already incurred for them, or necessary in future to their prosperity; and

to this plan the situation of Preston would have been highly favourable. It is well known to those who are acquainted with Nova Scotia, that all goods from the Bay of Fundy, or Bafon of Minas, are conveyed to Halifax, by vessels in a navigation hazardous, expensive, and uncertain, round Cape Sable at the extremity of the peninsula, a passage generally taking ten days or a fortnight, and infinitely more dangerous than that from Halifax to the Thames. There are small lakes in the neighbourhood of Preston communicating with each other, and ultimately with the river Schubennaccadie, which falls into the Bafon of Minas. One lake, called Dartmouth lake, from its situation near that place, is entirely unconnected with the others, and throws out a little river, which, after a course of about half a mile, runs into a cove in Halifax harbour. The distance between the lake of Dartmouth and the nearest of the others, is not more than twenty chain, and the interjacent neck of land is level. A junction might
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have been easily formed, and by cutting the ground, some chains about the connecting issues of the lakes lower down, and in no place would it have been necessary to have sunk the canals more than eleven feet, an inland navigation would have been opened, by which, without risk, and in one day, all the commodities sent from the Basen of Minas and Bay of Fundy, might be conveyed to Halifax. The runs of land adjoining the lakes, necessary for the execution of this project, might at the time have been purchased for a very moderate sum, and the Maroons would have completed the work in the course of one summer. The whole length of the ground to be cut through does not exceed a mile and a half, but it would have been requisite near the harbour to have made locks for a descent of sixty-two feet. Some notion may be formed of the inestimable advantages of this navigation by contrasting the different regions of Nova Scotia. The fertility of the land on the west side towards the Bay of Fundy and the

the Bafon of Minas is very great. Grain of every kind is abundant and cheap: butter, cheefe, cyder, and fimilar articles, are made in large quantities. Immenfe orchards are covered with trees, particularly the apple, bending to the earth with their fruit. To this may be added, that no part of the world affords good meat at a cheaper rate, the price of beef being two-pence a pound, Halifax currency. On the contrary, near the capital, and on the fide of the peninsula lying on the Atlantic, plenty is unknown, or exotic. Nature has doomed thefe regions to gloomy fogs and poverty of foil. In the neighbourhood of Halifax, there are fome farms that yield chaffy oats, and produce potatoes, clover, and excellent hay, but the land fcarcely pays for the labour of removing the ftones with which it is covered, and the expence of cultivation. The return of Indian corn is not enough to repay the fowing of it. Orchards are unknown: no fruit trees grow on this fide, except here and there a ftunted cherry, plumb, or apple, when
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it is defended on all sides, and the whole height of the tree, by houses or high boarded screens, from the severe blasts of the wind. To open, then, so speedy a communication with the more favoured regions of the west, could not but be of the greatest importance to the country; and the adventurers, whoever they may be, that shall effect that communication, cannot fail to be amply repaid. The labour, with the purchase of lands, and consequently the great capital required, are the obstacles that present themselves, but these are not insurmountable, and it is not unlikely that in time some adventuring capitalists will execute the plan. The sums voted by Jamaica for the establishment of the Maroons would have amply sufficed to accomplish it, and from the returns it would have produced, not only the Maroon expences and their settlement, either in one body or by dispersion in separate families, would have been covered, but a perpetual fund established at the disposal of the island. The project, however, would have
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required a consideration that must have consumed some time, and as the government of Nova Scotia had kindly received the Maroons, and interposed in their affairs, the commissary, apprehensive of counteracting the plans of the Governor, thought it his duty to give them every assistance in his power.

The township of Preston having been determined upon by the Governor for the settlement of the Maroons, the old houses on the spot were to be repaired, and new ones built for their accommodation. It was then thought proper to withdraw them from the works at Halifax, in order to prepare for their accommodation during the winter: in September they began to remove in small parties to their new habitations, and early in the month of October all had taken possession of the property purchased for them *. Disputes had arisen among

* It was about this time that on an alarm occasioned by Richery's Squadron, the Governor proposed to embody them

among them for the priority of removal and the choice of habitations, which were not easily settled, and many of them became and continued a long time refractory. The cold weather setting in before the arrival of the cloathing and other stores which had been ordered from England, a further great expence was necessarily incurred in furnishing them from Halifax at an exorbitant price. The Maroons were visited by the Governor at their new settlement, and many of them expressed the greatest satisfaction at their situation. His Excellency conceiving the best means of advancing their civilization was immediate instruction in the Christian religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic, appointed for these important duties a chaplain and teacher of the church of England, with an

them as a corps of militia. He bestowed several commissions on them: Montague and Johnson, he made colonels; Jarrat and Bailey, majors; to some he gave companies, and to others lieutenancies, which highly gratified their vanity.

assistant,

assistant, to reside among them, to perform public worship regularly, and to teach all those that were capable. For this establishment he allotted the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds sterling a-year, besides a glebe-house and land on the estate. The winter, which generally lasts seven months of the year in Nova Scotia, being necessarily a time of but little labour, a constant attendance at the parish church on Sunday was all that was required of the Maroons, and the younger ones were made to attend the school. To these due attention was paid by the schoolmaster, and they made as great a progress as could be expected in the things they were taught. Had their instruction in religion been also committed to the care of this master, they would probably have reaped much benefit; but as he was a dissenter from the established church, being of the Sandimanian sect, his religious tenets were deemed an insurmountable obstacle to his being entrusted to inculcate the principles of Christianity. He had, if I am rightly informed,

informed, been a missionary among the Iroquois Indians, or Six Nations, with whom he had met but little success: with young people, such as the Maroons, had the objections to his tenets been removed, he had talents that might have promised a prosperous issue to his zeal and attention. Little effect, however, could be reasonably hoped from weekly sermons on doctrines of faith, delivered to old and young promiscuously, in a language not understood. It would be as rational to put Homer into the hands of a child beginning to learn Greek. Once, coming out of church, a gentleman, who had attended the service, asked one of the captains, shivering with cold, if he knew what the clergyman had said. "Me sabby?" or, "How should I know?" was the answer. He had been smoking his pipe with some, while others were asleep. The gentleman repeating his question to Montague the chief, who was induced by his vanity to wish not to appear ignorant, the old man replied that he knew very well. " Massa

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parson say, no mus tief, no mus meddle wid somebody wife, no mus quarrel ; mus set down softly." This he conceived must be implied in so long a talk: but the whole tendency of the sermon was to convince the Maroons that they were happy, and to excite their gratitude to the people of Jamaica for sending them to Nova Scotia ; and it contained panegyrics on the Prince, the Commissary-general, and the Governor, their best friend. The inefficacy of this mode, however obvious, never occurred to the preacher ; but in justice to the Governor it must not be omitted, that he was solicitous that the Maroons should be made to comprehend the benevolent and pure principles of Christianity ; and at his request they were convened by the commissary himself, who undertook to explain to them the Governor's wishes, in a language they better understood. The most intelligent of the men being brought forward in a room at the commissary's house, and as many more as could be introduced attending, it was observed to them that
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they had left a country in which religion was not so fully attended to as it ought, where they had been kept in a state of barbarous ignorance, and in habits repugnant to the order and decency necessary to be maintained in the situation they now held among a people who deemed themselves bound by moral rules and obligations, which were derived from the law of God alone, and enforced by the laws of the country, the breach of them being followed by punishment: and that although some might wickedly transgress these laws without detection in this life, those would be called to a severe account in another world, into which they would pass from this, and where mankind would be happy or miserable according to their observance or neglect of those laws. The Governor being particularly desirous that marriage should be established among them, they were told that those who wished to enjoy the comfort and society of a wife should be duly married according to the ceremonies of the church, without which no

man was considered as lawfully married, nor could his property descend to his children. On this Captain Smith said; "But, Massa, den we must take swear:" that is, enter into an oath. "Yes, you must swear to love and support your wife, to keep her in sickness and in health, to afford her and her children all the comforts you can, to be faithful and true to her, as long as you both live, and to forsake all others but her." — "Dat white people fashion," said one who had two wives, "dat no do for we poor Maroon:" and then he argued, as I before mentioned*, that as God and Christ were good, they could not require that he should forsake either of his wives, or any of his children. They were desired to confer upon the subject, and when they had made up their minds to give their answer. They however promptly adopted an expedient to evade the business. "Massa," said one of them, "what you say we believe very good, but

* Vol. I. p. 113.

we no want to bring bad curse upon ourselves, for Gar A'mighty no love ugly, (that is wickedness,) and if we do something for curse us, he will punish us. We no mind being married without swear, but if you please you may make the women take swear; we men can't do so." The women were then called in, and talked to much as the men had been. None of the wives could be persuaded to resign her right to her husband, and the girls were so riotous and noisy in their objection to taking any *swear*, declaring without qualification they would not, that they were sent out of the room to confer, and went off in an uproar, clamouring at the men for making such a proposal. On their conference the objections became stronger, and they retired, making insolent observations on the latitude in which some of the greatest characters known to them had indulged. The failure of the attempt to convert the Maroons is not to be wondered at. Their habits would naturally preserve their power over them while they

lived together as a distinct body of people. Had the different families been induced to establish themselves among the remote settlers in districts where there were churches, clergymen, and schools, they would in time have been influenced by the example of their neighbours, and though the older ones might never have been prevailed upon to part with their wives, or consent to stigmatize any of their children, the younger ones would have reaped the advantages of instruction, and would have conformed through principle as other negro settlers had done. Separated from the refractory spirits that kept up among them an opposition to industry, and provided by the bounty of the island of Jamaica with the means of settling their families, they could not have failed to have become industrious and happy. The commissary-general, conceiving that dispersing the Maroons very extensively was the only means of disposing of them properly, and wishing to spread them in small settlements even as far as New Brunswick, had suggested

gested the plan, and had warmly urged that the different unoccupied barracks might be allowed for the Maroons during the winter of 1796-7, to facilitate it early in the spring ; but objections being started to the proposal, he submitted, and it was laid aside. Dissatisfied with the measures now pursued by the Governor, and the colonizing of a Maroon body in the neighbourhood of Halifax, the commissary-general, finding his own plan frustrated, and conceiving that he was considered merely as an agent to furnish money, and to act under the Governor's direction, expressed some impatience to quit the colony.

Meanwhile, the House of Assembly of Jamaica took the state of the Maroon business into consideration, and, having given due attention to the accounts received from the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia and from the commissary-general, by which it appeared, that it was his Majesty's pleasure that every thing

should be done for the comfort of the
 Maroons; that this had been effected in
 the purchase of an estate near Halifax with
 comfortable buildings; that the Maroons
 were pleased and desirous to settle in that
 country; that a licence of occupation had
 been granted for sixteen or seventeen thou-
 sand acres of land adjoining the estate so
 purchased; and that the commissary-gene-
 ral, by the particular recommendation of
 the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia,
 had ordered from London various articles
 to a very considerable amount for the sup-
 port and accommodation of the Maroons,
 resolved, that all farther support should
 be limited to the 22d of July, 1798: that
 the Maroons should be comfortably sub-
 sisted by the island of Jamaica to the 22d
 of July, 1797; and that for the year next
 ensuing, a sum not exceeding ten pounds
 sterling should be allowed for the support
 of each man, woman, and child; the As-
 sembly being fully convinced from the
 tenor of the letter from the Lieutenant-
 Governor of Nova Scotia to the commis-
 sary-

fary-general, that these people, possessing lands, and provided with implements of husbandry, and seeds for planting, and enjoying moreover the advantages of fishing and fowling, might then supply their own wants with the greatest facility. They concluded with resolving, that the lands and buildings should be vested in his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, for the use and benefit of the Maroons, in such manner as he should please to direct*. These resolutions, with directions to execute the conveyance to the crown, were transmitted to the commissary-general, who, on the 3d of April, communicated his dispatches to the Lieutenant-Governor of the province.

* Votes of the House of Assembly of Jamaica.

LETTER XV.

Severity of the Winter.—Apprehensions of Famine.—Prince Edward sends a Supply to the Maroons.—Commissary-General goes to New-York to procure Provisions. Proposals for indenting the Maroons.—Discontent in the Country, and among the Maroons.—The Latter refuse to Labour.—The Care of them given to the Schoolmaster.—Removal of some of their Families to Boydville.—They return to Work.—The Commissary surrenders the whole Charge of the Maroons to the Governor of the Province.—Captain Howe made Superintendant.—The Commissary detained in Nova Scotia.—Jamaica deemed, by the Duke of Portland and the Governor of Nova Scotia, liable to all Expences incurred for the Maroons.—Resolutions of the Assembly on the Subject.—Lord Balcarres refuses to transmit them.—Contradictory Accounts of the Situation of the Maroons.—They relapse into Idleness.—Small Progress of their Conversion to Christianity.—Their Farewell Address to the Commissary.—Perplexing Situation of the Government of Nova Scotia.—Letter from the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia to the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica.—Inquiry into the State of the Maroon Affairs by the House of Assembly of Jamaica.—Misunderstanding.—State of the Question.—Definitive Resolution of the Assembly.—Opinion of a Committee of the House respecting the Services of the Commissary-General.—Vote of the House in consequence.

THE winter proved unusually severe and long. From the time that the Maroons
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quitted the public works to the setting in of the cold weather, which was early, it had been barely possible to procure fuel enough for a moderate winter, and the consequence was, that the people burned, not only what had been laid in, but also all their pasture-fencing*. Notwithstanding the severity of the season, the Maroons became very healthy; for previously they had been sickly, owing to their long confinement on ship-board, and the sudden change of diet and water, in consequence of which many had died. In the month of December a seasonable supply of cloathing and stores arrived according to the order that had been sent to London; but unfortunately the potatoes, which had been chiefly depended upon for the food of the winter, and which had been carefully laid up in cellars deemed frost-proof, were frozen and destroyed. This, though a very unusual

* No hedges will grow in Nova Scotia; where fences are made of fallen trees, or pieces of wood, the ends of which meet in angles one over another.

circumstance, was general, and, the price of flour increasing, threatened Halifax not merely with a scarcity, but famine. In this dilemma Prince Edward, at the request of the Governor, generously sent the Maroons a considerable supply from the public magazines; but even this proving very insufficient, the commissary resolved to make a voyage to New York in order to purchase a quantity of flour. At this time it seems that pains had been taken to render the Maroons dissatisfied; they complained of the cold, and declared that the country would not do for them. The commissary's deputy was charged with fomenting these discontents; but on being spoken to on the subject by the commissary, who pointed out their respective duties, and the guilt of swerving from them, as well as the injury that would accrue to the island of Jamaica, he appeared to feel so much, that neither the commissary nor the Governor seemed to entertain any apprehensions of his future conduct. The Maroons being housed and plentifully provided for a time, the commissary

sary put his resolution in execution, and on the 23d of February sailed for New York; and having engaged a sufficient quantity of flour and other provisions at a moderate price, returned, after a month's absence, to Halifax. The supply proved a seasonable relief, and prevented much real distress.

Proposals had been made by several of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia for engaging Maroons upon indentures, and otherwise settling them. These, when made to the commissary, were always referred by him to the Governor. The application was generally for the choice of the finest fellows, regardless of the wives and children. The Maroons themselves smiled at the proposals, said they were free, and that from the Governor's promise in answer to their request, they depended on being removed to a warmer climate. This promise they assumed from a letter written to them by the Governor, in which he says: " I will, on my part, write by the packet,
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and represent the requests of the Maroons for the King's consideration: on the other part, you, and each of you, are to continue to use your best endeavours to cultivate and improve the buildings and estate whereon you now reside and occupy: and faithfully obey and execute my orders and directions in all things."

This could be no promise of removal on the part of the Governor, but it certainly kept alive their wish of going to a warm country, and confirmed the hope of it. Before the winter elapsed, the general joy that had prevailed on the determination of settling the Maroons in Nova Scotia, yielded to discontent on the part of the new settlers, and apprehensions of their proving an incumbrance on the part of the inhabitants: and the resolutions of the House of Assembly of Jamaica, now presented by the commissary to the governor of the province, clouded the happy prospects which had opened on the arrival of the Duke of Portland's dispatches. Many of the inhabitants, and particularly some members

members of the Assembly of Nova Scotia, disappointed in engaging Maroons upon indentures, and other proposals for settling them, began to be clamorous, and sent a message to the Governor to inquire what was to be done with them, should the island of Jamaica discontinue their supply; and whether they were to be left a burden on the province, or not. A committee of the House called for and examined the commissary-general, who observed to them, that the island had furnished as much property for the Maroons as would prevent an equal number of other people in Nova Scotia from being considered as paupers, and referred them to the Governor, who, on his part, declared that he would answer for removing all apprehensions, and become himself a pledge and security for the island of Jamaica continuing for them an ample support *. This declaration was made more than two months after the resolutions of the House had been com-

* Votes of the House of Assembly.

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municated to the Governor, and about a month previous to the commissary's total surrender of the charge.

The ground continuing bound by the frost long in the month of May, the spring was far advanced before any labour could be required of the Maroons; and when the opening of the soil permitted it, they discovered the greatest reluctance to begin working, and it was evident that strong prejudices had existed in their minds against settling in Nova Scotia. The ground of their conduct was said to be a hope that had been instilled into their minds, of a removal to a more congenial climate, and particularly of being embodied as soldiers for the Cape of Good Hope and India, accompanied by their women and children. Some of them were extremely angry with a few who planted potatoes, and even proceeded to acts of violence against them; while others, well disposed, complained to the commissary that working had been dis-

discouraged by his deputy *. This, as well as other parts of his conduct respecting the Governor, was considered by the latter as an objection to his being continued in the charge of the Maroon concerns, and the commissary thought it indispensable to show his resentment by breaking off all communication with him; and, deeming decisive measures in opposition to the prejudices of the Maroons necessary, he placed them under the immediate care of the schoolmaster appointed by the Governor, and removed some of the families to a settlement called Boydville, about four miles above the upper basin of the harbour of Halifax, where, in spite of the threats of those left at Preston, they immediately

* This gentleman afterwards defended himself at large on oath before the House of Assembly in Jamaica, denying or justifying the charges that were made against him by the Governor of Nova Scotia: but as it is no part of my plan to enter into the disputes that arose respecting the Maroon establishment, but only to state the facts, I think it enough to add here, that the Assembly of Jamaica fully acquitted him, and also granted him a remuneration for his services. — *Votes of the Assembly, 1798.*

displayed great alacrity in working for themselves. Orders were left with Mr. Chamberlain, the person under whose inspection the Maroons were placed, that if they did not work they should not be fed: submission was the consequence, and early in June Mr. Chamberlain had a hundred and fifty at work. On the 22d of July 1797, the commissary surrendered the charge entirely to the Governor of the province, and delivered up the property of the island of Jamaica to Captain Howe, a gentleman sent by his Excellency to receive it, and in whose hands the superintendency was now placed. There only remained to comply with the resolutions of the Assembly of Jamaica, to make a legal conveyance of the property to the Crown; and instructions were given for preparing the deed: but many objections occurred in the mode of wording it, and a considerable time elapsed before it was executed. It happened that the commissary, now desirous of returning to Jamaica, was detained by another cause in Halifax. He had, at
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different periods, drawn bills on the correspondents in London of the receiver-general of the island of Jamaica in consequence of the credit voted by the Assembly, which bills returned protested, although it appeared, by the acknowledgment of the receiver's correspondents, that they actually had in their hands, at the time of protesting, funds to a large amount. It was rather extraordinary, that the whole vote of twenty-five thousand pounds for the Maroon concern was not lodged and ready, particularly as the commissary had given a statement of the whole vote being necessary to pursue the plans adopted in Nova Scotia, and had required adequate funds to be lodged to provide for his bills. It appeared, however, that, at least, fourteen thousand five hundred pounds sterling were lodged, and the Assembly expressed their opinion, that so far the bills should have been honoured by the receiver-general. Why they were not honoured, was never thoroughly explained, though those acquainted with the use of money

probably understand; but the circumstances gave rise to an invidious reflexion among the friends of those who protested the bills. They allowed the commissary ample credit for his services, for which they were of opinion he ought to have received a very large remuneration, "but," said they, "it is to be regretted, that the government of Jamaica did not send with the Maroons a man *competent in business*." The plain meaning of which is, that he ought not to have drawn for the money voted, but manœuvered his purchases to advantage, and on credit. A competent business-man would perhaps have benefited himself and his friends in the charge committed to him: but in this art the commissary was certainly incompetent. To the petty wiles of mercantile transactions he was not a stranger, but he was superior to them, and could not discern the interest and honour of a respectable government in the low craft of a little man of business. The trust reposed in the commissary was of magnitude; it involved the honour as well

as the interest of his country, and the fate of more than five hundred human creatures. His object therefore was a speedy and honourable discharge of his trust: he considered that what was voted by the island of Jamaica was actually meant to be paid, and feeling that as a proprietor, and as a member of the legislature, he comprehended the interest of his country fully as well as if he had been educated in a counting-house, or apprenticed to an attorney, he chose to act a part which had the support of his own understanding, and which afterwards received the approbation of the island, expressed in a vote of their Assembly. However, the consequence of the return of the bills was, that the persons in whose favour they were drawn thought the detention of the commissary in Nova Scotia necessary to their security. Fresh bills were drawn, of which some met a similar fate; and it was not till late in the month of April that the commissary, giving security for the remaining unhonoured bills, was able to leave Halifax, where he had

remained upwards of nine months after the relinquishing of his trust, a spectator of the state of the Maroon settlement.

Meanwhile the Governor of the province, sensible of the inadequacy of the sums voted by the House of Assembly of Jamaica to the support of the Maroon establishment, transmitted an account of the resolutions he had received, to the Duke of Portland, representing that a larger sum would be indispensably necessary, and entreating his Grace's instructions. He afterwards wrote an expostulatory letter to the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, declaring that he could not accede to the limitation resolved upon, as he was certain it was inadequate; adding, that it was impossible to make any judicious estimate for the service. The Duke of Portland was of opinion, that the island of Jamaica was bound, conformably to the intentions originally expressed by its legislature, to defray all the expence that should be incurred on account of the Maroons, till they could
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subsist themselves; and this opinion he explicitly stated to the two Governors. These letters were laid before the House, and referred to a committee, who having considered them, made the following report:

“ That no resolution or proceeding of the legislature authorizes the opinion entertained, that this island intended to pledge itself to provide a permanent support for the rebellious Maroons of Trelawney-Town, in Nova Scotia, or elsewhere:

“ That, as the Maroons were sent to Halifax, to wait his Majesty's pleasure with respect to their future destination, and the choice of Nova Scotia, as a place of settlement for them, was not the measure of the legislature of Jamaica (as stated in Sir John Wentworth's receipt to Mr. Quarrell, dated the 11th September, 1797), this country ought not to be charged with the extraordinary expence, incurred by the difficulty of establishing them in that situation:

“ That the benevolent intentions of this island have been evinced, by the liberal provision made for the support of the Maroons at the time of their embarkation, and afterwards ; which, in the opinion of the committee, was amply adequate to fulfil the engagement of the legislature, to maintain them at the public expence of this island for a reasonable time after their arrival at the place of their destination :

“ The first provision made by this House for the rebellious Maroons, was a grant of the 26th April, 1796, of twenty-five thousand pounds currency ; a further requisition having been made on the same account, another grant of ten thousand pounds currency was voted on the 19th December, 1796, when the house thought it expedient to fix a period beyond which the island would not be bound to support these people in their settlement at Nova Scotia :

“ That

“ That, application having been made by W. D. Quarrell, Esquire, and by Sir John Wentworth, in his letter of the 4th August, 1797, to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, for an additional aid, the sum of six thousand pounds has been voted by the House for the same use, making, with the two former grants, the sum of forty-one thousand pounds currency :

“ That, when Mr. Quarrell surrendered the charge of the Maroons to Sir John Wentworth, property in lands, houses, stock, furniture, farming utensils, and stores, of the value of ten thousand three hundred and three pounds, fourteen shillings, and ten-pence halfpenny sterling, was delivered by the former to the latter, for the use of the Maroons, over and above the provisions for the expences of maintaining them until the 22d July 1797 :

“ The committee must here observe, that from all the communications to this house on the subject of these Maroons,

it appears that on their arrival at Halifax, they were not considered as atrocious delinquents transported for having taken up arms against his Majesty's government, but, on the contrary, as a loyal and favoured people, sent thither for the purpose of colonization :

“ It appears to the committee, from the accounts of William Dawes Quarrell, Esquire, and from the information collected from the Receiver-General of this island, that the sum of forty-one thousand pounds, granted at different times for the comfortable subsistence of the Maroons, will not be more than sufficient to defray the expences incurred in that service, previous to the 22d July 1797; and that a further grant will be necessary to make good the intention of the House to allow ten pounds sterling for the year ending on the 22d July 1798, for each man, woman, and child :

“ The

“ The committee therefore recommend to the House, to grant the further sum of six thousand pounds sterling for that purpose, and to come to a final resolution, not to make any other grants for the future support of the Maroons *.”

A copy of this report was sent to Lord Balcarres, accompanied with a request that he would communicate it to the Duke of Portland, the Governor of Nova Scotia, and the commissary; and that he would transmit to the Governor of Nova Scotia the Act of the Island passed on the 1st of May 1796, banishing the Maroons from Jamaica, and making it felony, without benefit of clergy, for them to return, or for any person to receive them in the island. His Lordship thought he could not, consistent with his correspondence with the Duke of Portland and the Governor of Nova Scotia, transmit the resolutions, and declined it; upon which the House

* Votes of the Assembly.

directed

directed the Committee of Correspondence to transmit them to the agent of the island, to be communicated by him to the Duke of Portland.

Contradictory accounts were given, and appear on the Journals of the House of Assembly, of the subsequent disposition and conduct of the Maroons. By some it was stated that they were suffered to dwindle off into their former habits of idleness and relapse into inaction, while the Governor himself said that, "Since Captain Howe had superintended, the whole settlement wore a new and promising appearance, the people were all chearfully at work, there was good humour returning, some had solicited to be settled for life, and they gradually abandoned all the plans foolishly and wickedly made, kept up, and cherished among them *." The fact is, that previous to the charge being delivered up by the commissary, the people had

* Votes of the House of Assembly.

begun to work ; but soon after, they were
 suffered to relapse into idleness from the
 anxiety of the new superintendant to be
 popular among them, and while additional
 hands were employed in their service,
 the labour was neglected for amusements,
 for cards and cock-fighting, strolling to
 town, and occasionally earning some money
 in accidental occupations. The ensuing
 winter proved almost as rigorous as the
 preceding, the fall of snow was the heaviest
 ever known in Nova Scotia. While it
 lasted, the Maroons were housed, fed, kept
 warm, and had nothing to do but play
 cards. The younger ones were instructed
 by Mr. Chamberlain, but the older ones
 refused to attend the weekly sermon, and
 made little progress in the cultivation of
 the Christian doctrines, the baptism of the
 children being the only point gained ; for
 neither marriages nor funerals were solem-
 nized according to the rules of the church.
 The custom of a plurality of wives bound
 only by consent continued, and when a
 Maroon died, he was buried with the
 Coro-

Coromantie ceremonies. The burial service was never performed by the chaplain of the establishment. Once, as one of the members of the Assembly of the Province was riding out with the commissary, he saw a large company of them at a little distance, and heard them singing, on which he commented on their happiness in their new situation. "The singing you hear," said the commissary, "is no proof, I doubt, of their happiness." While the member was proving singing to be an indication of felicity, they approached the company of Maroons, and found them employed in the interment of one of their friends.

Whatever solicitations of being settled for life in the province might have been made by them in the summer of 1797, certain it is their desire of a removal was revived during the winter, and afterwards, in the spring, clearly expressed in a farewell address written to the commissary-general when they heard he was about to leave Halifax. This was in the end
of

of April 1798. When he had arranged his business, he was apprehensive that on his departure, the whole body of Maroons, who had always manifested not only deference but affection for him, would come to see him off, and willing to prevent the inconvenience as well as the reflexions to which it might give rise, he industriously avoided all show of preparation, and confided solely in Smith, who, at his desire, misled the others as to the time of his quitting the country. In consequence of this, the address which had been previously prepared, was not received by the commissary till he had arrived at Boston, in his way to Jamaica. Thither it was dispatched after him, and is as follows:

“ To W. D. QUARRELL, ESQ.

“ SIR,

“ The Maroons hearing you are shortly to leave this country, the undersigned, for themselves, and in behalf of the whole body, beg leave to assure you of their unfeigned sorrow for the necessity of your departure

departure from hence ; they beg leave to assure you, in the sincerest terms of gratitude, of the great regard they shall ever pay to your memory, for the great care and attention you paid to all their wants and interest, during the time you had the management of their affairs ; and since that time, for the very friendly asylum they always experienced at your house in Dartmouth, which rendered their situation as comfortable as could be for people in their unfortunate condition. They humbly beg you will lay before the House of Assembly in Jamaica, their present distresses ; their contrition and sorrow for their past offences to their much injured country ; and acknowledge the justice in the sentence of banishment passed upon them ; but they entreat the House of Assembly in the most suppliant terms, they may be removed to some other country more congenial to people of their complexion : the length and severity of the two last winters have been such, as almost to drive them to despair : they appeal to yourself and Dr.

Oxley,

Oxley, who have been daily witnesses of their conduct, if they have not, at all times, behaved themselves in an honest, peaceable, and orderly manner, towards every one: it is likewise with extreme pain and mortification they see immense expences incurred, without the least tendency to promote their happiness or comforts, of which they conceive the government and island are not sufficiently apprized: if the House of Assembly will have the goodness to take this into consideration, they beg leave to assure them, in the most solemn manner, they will be perfectly satisfied to live upon half the allowance they at present enjoy; strenuously endeavour to provide for themselves within as short a time as possible; build their own houses; and put the island to as small an expence as possible: this they humbly conceive might be accomplished (by a sale of their property here) for less money than the island may be aware of: if the House of Assembly has the goodness to take compassion on their sufferings, they fervently hope

hope you will return to them: having already experienced your kindness on all occasions, it would encourage them to surmount every difficulty. God bless you, Sir, wishing you a safe passage, and may you live long and happy, is the sincere prayer of all the Maroons.

(Signed)

COLONEL MONTAGUE JAMES.

COLONEL JOHNSON.

MAJOR J. JARRETT.

CAPTAIN SMITH.

CAPTAIN CHARLES SHAW.

CAPTAIN DUNBAR.

CAPTAIN D. SHAW.

CAPTAIN J. HARDING."

April 20th, 1797.

Whatever had been the defaults of these people, it was impossible now to leave them without feeling an interest for their future welfare, and the commissary foresaw with great pain that their settlement in Nova Scotia would neither conduce to
that,

that, nor be advantageous to the inhabitants; he had fully stated his opinion in a letter to a member of the Assembly of Jamaica*, but that opinion was less agreeable to the House than the reception of the Maroons in Nova Scotia and the flattering accounts they received from the Governor of the Province. When the commissary's letter was received, it was not too late to complete the original plan of disposing of the Maroons on the continent of America; but the Assembly preferred the scheme that was attended with the least trouble, and, satisfying their consciences by voting a provision on an ample scale, gladly resigned them to the hands of the Governor of Nova Scotia, who, it must be confessed, displayed a confidence in the plan of keeping them in that province, and showed a readiness to establish them, which it was not incumbent on the island of Jamaica to withstand. The commissary, as soon as he found him-

* James Wedderburn, Esq. The letter was made public.

self at liberty to depart, took a passage in a vessel bound to the United States of America, with the hope of expediting his return to Jamaica, there being no likelihood of a speedy opportunity from Halifax. Unfortunately, when he got to New York, a general embargo was laid on at all the ports, in consequence of the depredations of the French cruizers; and being detained in America while it lasted, it was not till the end of October that he arrived in Jamaica, where he found the Assembly sitting.

In the mean time the Maroons continued refractory, and the Governor of Nova Scotia began, with some reason, to be very weary of his charge, and heartily to repent the encouragement he had given to their remaining in Nova Scotia. It must be allowed his situation was painful and perplexing. He had at his doors a large body of people dissatisfied with the plan laid down for them, and resolute to oppose it by means which they hoped would

would subvert it, the refusal to labour; and he anticipated the time when the sums voted by Jamaica would be exhausted, of course when it would be necessary for him to dispose of the Maroons without injury to the province. Perhaps the anxiety that resulted from this anticipation might have been greatly relieved, if not wholly removed, by reflecting on the nature of man, and the examples afforded by the annals of the very province he governed. Not only the natural indolence of men, but their strongest passions, are subdued by necessity. When absolute want, when starvation is the alternative, work will be resorted to. The American black loyalists were not long supported; and to this moment the Germans settled at Lunenburg, in Nova Scotia, are a proof that men will not die of famine when labour will give them plenty. They were fed for a considerable time, during which the country about them remained uncultivated, and almost in a wild state of nature; but when their support was with-

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drawn,

drawn, the industry of the Germans rendered Lunenburg the best source of supply to Halifax. Had the Maroons, on the resolution of the island of Jamaica to limit the grant for their settlement to a certain sum, been informed that they were in future to provide for themselves, had the land and the money voted for their service been given up to them, had the establishment of a superintendant, chaplain, doctor, schoolmaster, &c. been reformed, an establishment never before thought of for settlers, nor originally contemplated for these, and had they at the same time been told that the police of the government would keep a strict watch over their conduct, for which they were amenable to the law, the probable consequence would have been that, finding they must depend upon their own exertions, and sensible they were not in a country where they could retire to fastnesses, or defy authority, for as a banditti they could not have existed, they would with their shares of their property have dispersed themselves in various

parts of the country, where they would have had the same chance of religious improvement that others had, and where the schoolmasters that instructed the children of the old inhabitants would have instructed theirs. Be this as it may, the Governor of Nova Scotia either did not see matters in this light, or thought it incumbent upon him to persist in his endeavours to reclaim the idle colony, to instruct them, and, if possible, to render them religious, happy, and useful. The task was surely more than Herculean; and however we may admire the design, we cannot wonder at its failure.

Now fully convinced that the sum voted would be insufficient, the Governor of Nova Scotia, soon after the commissary's departure from Halifax, wrote another letter to the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, in which he assured the legislature of the island, that the most prudent and efficacious means were steadily pursued to settle the Maroons, and render them com-

petent to their own support, but explicitly declared that they must in the mean time be maintained by the island of Jamaica, intimating that he could not doubt their providing for an expence which he said was incurred at their request, for their safety and relief from the horrid dangers of continual insurrection of their negroes, which the Maroons would never cease to contrive. He then gave the legislature to understand, that they still had connexions on many estates, who they thought would readily give into their views, if they, or any part of them, could once get into the mountains and fastnesses formerly occupied by them. Having stated what must have been so alarming to the people of Jamaica, the Governor proceeded to regret the unjustifiable insidious practices used to make the Maroons discontented, with which he charged the commissary's deputy, and appealed to the testimony of the commissary himself. He expressed a belief that the evil effect of these practices would be overcome by prudent perseverance, and that
the

the people would in time see their error ; adding, that many families were at work with perfect good will and industry, and very thankful to the island. He farther informed the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, that he had been under the necessity of drawing bills on the Lords of his Majesty's Treasury on account of the island, declaring that he confided in the honour and wisdom of the Government of Jamaica to make a provision for them, and for such farther support as might be necessary to enable the Maroons to maintain themselves*.

Early in their sessions, the House of Assembly entered upon the consideration of the Maroon affairs, a number of documents on the subject was laid before them, and the arrival of the commissary enabled them to inquire minutely into the occurrences that had taken place in Nova Scotia. The Governor of that province had himself

* Votes of the Assembly, 1798.

referred them to him. Having made a general report of his mission to Lord Balcarras, he was more particularly examined by a committee of the House of Assembly. In his examination it appeared, that the original plan of settling the Maroon families separately was counteracted by the system pursued after the arrival of the dispatches from England approving their reception in Nova Scotia; that the management of the new system was conducted by the Lieutenant-Governor, who had of his own accord entered into a treaty for the purchase of lands, which the commissary did not see till afterwards; that the Maroons met with great discouragement from several people in Halifax who wrote petitions for them, and also from neighbouring settlers who either wished for their removal, with a view to succeed to their houses on easy terms, or dreaded, by their becoming industrious, a reduction in the price of labour; that a system of inactivity was pursued from the time of the surrender of the charge; that subsequent

sequent to that surrender the Maroon establishment was enlarged, unnecessary purchases made, and much altercation supported among the persons employed in the establishment; and that the number of people employed in working for the Maroons was very considerably augmented. The documents laid before the House, which were referred to the same committee, consisted chiefly of letters and extracts of letters written by his Grace the Duke of Portland, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, and Mr. Sewell, the agent of the island of Jamaica residing in London, the purport of which was, on the one hand, to show that his Majesty's ministers had by no act or expression taken upon themselves the charge of the Maroons, or exonerated the island of Jamaica from the expences arising from their concerns; and on the other, that nothing farther could be reasonably expected of the people of Jamaica than what the legislature had agreed to do, which was to provide the Maroons with cloathing and necessaries for

for their passage from the island, and to maintain them for a reasonable time after their arrival at the place of their destination ; that the House of Assembly never had in contemplation the settling of a distinct black peasantry in Nova Scotia, or of providing for an unusual superintendency and establishment ; and that they had relied on the care of his Majesty's government that the transported delinquents should not be imprudently stationed.

It would be absurd to imagine that his Majesty's ministers ever intended to provide at the expence of this country for a body of exiles, and one cannot but lament that the generosity they evinced on this occasion should, by any misconception, have been so ill rewarded. I must repeat, it is to be regretted that the Assembly of Jamaica did not immediately on the information given them by their commissary of the situation of the Maroons, which was soon after their arrival in Nova Scotia, protest against the new arrangements

ments formed, and persist in the original plan, which might still have been executed, at less expence than they afterwards incurred: but it cannot be denied, that they were eager to seize upon the construction afforded them by the letters of the Duke of Portland and the proceedings of the Governor of Nova Scotia, to get speedily and entirely rid of the Maroon concerns, satisfying their minds with having provided very liberally for them. The Duke of Portland could have acted only in consequence of the dispatches sent to him by the Earl of Balcarres long previous to the sailing of the Maroons from Jamaica. His Grace had indeed previously intimated that he thought their removal from Jamaica best if it could be done with propriety, and was therefore perhaps not unprepared for the event, but it was on receiving Lord Balcarres's dispatches, and before the arrival of the Maroons at Halifax, that two letters were written by his Grace, which justified the Governor of Nova Scotia in taking them under his care, in which, however, there

there was no assumption of providing ultimately for any expence, but on the contrary there was in one of them, the expression of a full reliance on the island of Jamaica for every expence attending them. The first of these letters I have already cited*: of the other, which was dated on the 15th of July 1796, the following is an extract. "For the present I have nothing farther to add, but to inform you, that you are to draw on the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury for such expences as you shall be under the necessity of incurring in the execution of this service, which you will take care to conduct with the strictest economy, and to send over, with your bills drawn on their Lordships on this account, correct and proper vouchers, in order that their amount may be repaid by the legislature of Jamaica, in the manner stated in the inclosed extract of my letter to Lord Balcarras: I must, however, observe, that the

* Ante, p. 211.

mode of providing for this service would be much shortened, if, upon communication with the commissioner who accompanies the Maroons, some mode could be adopted, whereby the expences you will incur may be repaid by that island, through its agent or otherwise, in the first instance; you will, therefore, give to this suggestion your most earnest attention." By this letter the Governor of Nova Scotia was thought to be indemnified and warranted in conducting the Maroon concerns; and it should seem as if the minister had never been apprized of any other plan having been suggested in Jamaica; but the provision for the service was clearly expected from the island, whether it was to be made through the means of the commissioners of the Treasury, or more directly through the island-commissary to the Governor of the province. Another letter from his Grace the Duke of Portland to Sir John Wentworth, dated the 1st of November 1796, confirmed the opinion of the House of Assembly, that the management of the

Maroons

Maroons was considered by his Majesty's ministers to be in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, as there his Grace said; "The manner in which you have provided for the establishment of the Maroons is such, as in all respects to meet with his Majesty's perfect approbation; the mode of defraying the necessary expences of this establishment is very properly arranged; and, as it is the express intention of the legislature of Jamaica to continue the provision for the Maroons until they shall be enabled to subsist themselves, the present arrangement for defraying the expence will, of course, be co-extensive with that period, without subjecting Jamaica, and his Majesty's Government here, to the settlement of any account for that purpose." But in the conclusion of this and in all the Duke of Portland's letters, the island of Jamaica is constantly regarded as bound to provide for every expenditure. The Assembly of the island were aware of this, but they had now an alternative: they might either
 remon-

remonstrate, and claim the privilege of spending their own money in pursuing a plan approved by themselves; or, they might cut the matter short, and say to the Governor of Nova Scotia, “you have taken the whole conduct of the concern upon yourself, and look to us only for money; be it so: you shall have all the money we intended for these people, and five thousand five hundred and eighty pounds * more, in consideration of the weight you remove from our minds.” They chose the latter, and after enumerating the facts by which the Governor of Nova Scotia appeared to them to have taken the charge of the Maroons out of their hands, complaining of his sending no accounts for fifteen months, and adducing the moderate expence of settling the loyal American refugees in the same province as a contrasted proof of their

* This sum was the aggregate of the ten pounds per head voted for the year ending on the 22d of July 1798, and was appropriated to honouring the bills of the Governor of Nova Scotia to that amount.—*Votes of Assembly.*

own munificence *, they were of opinion that they were not in justice called upon for any farther provision for the Maroons, and adhered to their former resolutions †.

The House of Assembly had now entirely disburdened the island of all concern with the Maroons, and the accounts of the commissary-general were examined and settled. The committee to whom they had been referred, in making their report, declared it to be their opinion, that the commissary, notwithstanding he had been prevented from exercising fully his own judgment in the settlement of the Maroons of whom he had the charge, had executed the trust reposed in him, and discharged his duty to the island with diligence and fidelity; that he had in the course of such

* The number of these loyalists was five hundred and sixty, who were subsisted for three years for twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. For the Maroons who were not more numerous, Jamaica had advanced twenty-eight thousand in the first year, and six thousand in the second.

† Votes of the Assembly.

service,

service, suffered great hardships and indignities, owing to his bills, drawn on account of the island, having been returned to Halifax under protest; that he had during his absence from the country, been at a considerable expence in procuring persons to manage his estate and affairs, and otherwise been put to great costs and charges: and they concluded with recommending to the House to grant him such a sum of money as would be not only a compensation for his expences and sufferings, but also a liberal reward for his meritorious services. The House, in consequence of this report, voted him the sum of five thousand pounds currency to be paid by the Receiver-General in the month of August 1799, besides fundry expences, and a balance of account due from the island. However this sum may be considered in the light of a remuneration for such acknowledged services as had been rendered by Colonel Quarrell to the island of Jamaica, it is not to be imagined that it was in reality what it appears nominally.

The loss of interest by the mode of payment, the difference between its being paid in Jamaica and its being paid in England, where he was indebted on account of the island, and its being considered as covering any further sums that might arise from subsequent accounts in the close of the business in Halifax, certainly reduced the real value of it to little more than two thousand pounds sterling. On this vote, so recommended and on such grounds, I have but one observation to add: it was unaccompanied with thanks.

LETTER XVI.

Situation of the Maroons.—Proceedings and Resolutions of the House of Assembly of Jamaica sent to Halifax.—The Governor of Nova Scotia remonstrates, and unexpectedly prefers Charges against the Commissary.—Nature of the Charges.—How treated by the Committee appointed to enquire into them.—The Maroons become a Burden on the Government.—Proposal to the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company.—Their Motives for consenting to receive the Maroons.—Removal of them to Sierra Leone.—Their Conduct on their Arrival.—Their Importance in the Settlement.—They are established in the Colony.—Their present Character.

THE Maroons, now left entirely to the direction of the Government of Nova Scotia, appear to have sometimes turned their minds to employment and a continuance in the province, and sometimes to have been totally bent on a change of country, which they imagined inaction the best means of effecting. In the summer of 1798, a change in the super-

T 2 intendency

intendency took place, and the chief management of the establishment was given to Mr. Chamberlain the schoolmaster, who it seems undertook it upon low terms. He followed the wise plan of withholding all allowance of provisions from those who would not work, and had the satisfaction to find that resolutions made to starve rather than labour, yielded to the calls of hunger, and that instead of dying, they began to turn their woods into gardens and cultivated fields. In the year 1799 we find them again refusing to work. In the course of the winter their hope of a removal had been revived, and before the snow was off the ground, they pretty generally declared that they would never settle to making any improvements in Nova Scotia.

About this time the proceedings of the House of Assembly of Jamaica relative to the Maroon affairs in Nova Scotia, and their resolutions upon the subject, arrived in Halifax, and created much agitation in the

the minds of those concerned in them. The report made by the commissary-general, and the examination he underwent before the House of Assembly, were not documents with which the Governor of Nova Scotia could be pleased. He immediately drew up a statement of facts, and transmitted them, accompanied by some affidavits, to Lord Balcarres, to be laid before the House of Assembly, expressing his surprise and mortification that they should have been deceived into such resolutions against him, and declaring that he looked forward to their doing him justice. The statement of facts contained a variety of charges against the commissary, upon whom the Assembly called for an answer. This he began in so full a manner, throwing such light on the subject, that the committee appointed to receive and report it, though satisfied as to the facts, being unwilling that it should be put on the Journals of the House, and pitying the absurdities and glaring inconsistencies that appeared in the attempt to support

several of the charges, requested the commissary *as a favour* to confine his answers to eighteen which they pointed out, while they rejected the rest as unworthy of notice. These charges are heterogeneous, beginning with an attack on his opinions as a member of the Assembly previous to the transportation of the Maroons, reproaching his conduct in Halifax respecting the Maroon establishment, casting an odium on his political principles, and ending with a reflexion on his private concerns. I will not trouble you or myself by entering here into a particular discussion of this impeachment, but I will send you the eighteen charges made on bare assertion, and the answers given on oath, that you may amuse yourself with them at leisure*. When any one, be his situation in life what it may, prefers charges against men who, despising life and fortune, devote themselves to the good of their country, he should be very careful that they are clear

* See Appendix, No. 4.

in proof and pure in motive, that they stand on facts, and come forward unattended by suspicion of personal resentment or recrimination. The Assembly would have been justified in rejecting the whole with the scorn with which they treated a part of the charges; because they had only to turn over the leaves of their own Journals to find them completely refuted in the words of the impeacher himself, who in a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, written after the commissary had resigned the whole concern, expresses himself literally as follows. " It is also a duty of justice to your lordship, and to the island, that I fail not to represent Mr. Quarrell's conduct in the fullest terms of respect and approbation; his unremitted humanity, care, and attention, to every thing that could be useful to the Maroons, and sensible zeal for the honour and interest of his employers, certainly entitle him to the lasting affection of the Maroons, and the most distinguished and grateful consideration of the government,

and every inhabitant of the island of Jamaica *.” Was there any thing more wanting to show that the arraignment of the commissary’s conduct was an after-thought, was the suggestion of resentment for the disclosure his examination on oath had produced? Why in orations, composed in the summer and autumn of 1798, long after the commissary had left Nova Scotia, for the purpose of defending the purity of the Maroon establishment, and of reprobating the disturbers of it, was no blame cast upon him? Why in a letter written by the Governor of Nova Scotia himself so long after as January 1799, is he still mentioned with respect, or at least without censure †? And why does the accusation follow immediately upon the arrival of the proceedings of the House of Assembly of Jamaica at Halifax? Putting aside the recollection of former services, such glaring appeals to common sense would have discharged the House from

* Votes of the Assembly. † Ibid.

every obligation of attending to a string of angry and resentful complaints, the weak after-game of an agitated mind. But conceiving that delicacy required of them some notice of a statement proceeding from a person holding a high and honourable office, a committee was appointed to investigate the charges. What became of delicacy in the end? The committee barely reported that they had delivered certain charges to Mr. Quarrell, who had answered them on oath, which charges, answers, and documents cited in them annexed to the report, they begged leave to refer to the House, who agreed to the report, and sent it up to the Governor. Agreeing to the report was in fact agreeing to nothing; it was indeed admitting that the charges preferred had been answered, but being entered on the Journals of the House without any remark, it should seem that justice and gratitude were sacrificed to false delicacy: for, although undoubtedly, as it was said at the time, the facts spoke for themselves, the commissary had a right to expect

expect from the House a public expression of their sentiments on those facts. They had, it is true, already declared, "that he had executed the trust reposed in him, and **discharged** his duty to the island with diligence and fidelity, in which he had suffered hardships, indignities, and losses," and might think it needless to repeat a declaration which it was clear they would not retract.

Let us now return to the Maroons in **Halifax**. The dissatisfaction early created among them was still fostered by their pretended friends, or by those who wished their absence. They were made acquainted with the proceedings of the Assembly of Jamaica and the subsequent occurrences; they thought themselves injured, and passed the winter of 1799 in discontent and murmurs. In this situation they were become a dead weight upon the hands of his Majesty's Government, the general expence attending their subsistence amounting to no less a sum than ten thousand pounds a-year.

a-year*. It was therefore necessary to adopt some measure respecting them; and in devising means to dispose of them in the best manner, the minister thought of the settlement of Sierra Leone. Eight years before, the negro loyalists of America, who resided in Nova Scotia, had been induced to quit that country and to join the colony in Africa, where they very soon became turbulent and unruly, and proceeded to the most criminal lengths, even to attempting the life of the Governor. This spirit, though checked at first, was never subdued, and it continued to endanger the very existence of the colony. This consideration had great weight in inducing the directors of the Sierra Leone Company to receive the Maroons. At first, indeed, when the proposal was made to them by the Duke of Portland, they wished to decline it, from the difficulty they had found in governing the Nova Scotia blacks, but upon reflexion they

* See the evidence supporting the report of a committee of the House of Commons respecting Sierra Leone, of the 25th of May 1802.

formed

formed a notion that the Maroons would serve as a counterpoise to them, a notion that must have been the result of a very different mode of reasoning from that which had been used for their transportation from Jamaica, where the idea once entertained of their forming a counterpoise in favour of the government had been given up, and where their residence was considered as favourable to future rebellions. I will not renew this topic, but we shall presently see the event of the hope indulged by the directors of the Sierra Leone Company, who, on being promised payment of the actual expence incurred in settling the Maroons in Africa, consented to receive them. The first intention of the company was to fix the Maroons at a little distance from the chief town of the settlement, but it was found impracticable. They embarked at Halifax in the autumn of the year 1800, and arrived at Sierra Leone in the month of October. On their arrival, their principles were immediately put to the test. An

insur-

insurrection had taken place among the Nova Scotians, who understanding that means were about to be used for establishing the company's authority, had endeavoured to possess themselves of the government*. Had the Maroons been the disciples of revolutionary emissaries, or the abettors of anarchy and equality, they would in all probability have joined the people of their own complexion to extirpate the white tyrant: on the contrary, they joined with alacrity in quelling the insurrection. Some of the insurgents were killed, many taken and tried, a few executed, and several banished. A system of order was introduced by the Governor and Council, supported by their new power and authority; and when another sudden and unexpected blow was aimed at the settlement by some native chiefs, the Maroons took an active part in repulsing the the assailants, and forcing them to remove from the neighbourhood of the colony. "The power of the Nova Scotia party

* Report to the House of Commons of May 25th 1802.

being broken," say the committee of the House of Commons, "the internal peace of the settlement is no longer endangered by the number of disaffected Nova Scotians. The character of the Maroons is now become a subject of more importance; for the male adults among the Maroons are full as numerous as the remaining male adults of the other class of settlers*."

Lots of land were given to the Maroons; but though they have at different times cultivated ground to a considerable extent, no great dependence is placed on their steady pursuit of agricultural plans. Having now brought you to their establishment in Sierra Leone, I have little more to add respecting them, for I see nothing to interest you in returning to Halifax, to state who were pleased or displeased, who won or lost by their removal, or to give an account of the sale of the property that had been purchased for them in Nova Scotia. I cannot, however, better conclude

* Report of May 25th, 1802.

my history of them, than by giving you their character at the time of their transportation from Jamaica, in the words of the Governor of that province, and their present character, as drawn in the language of the committee of the House of Commons appointed to examine the petition of the directors of the Sierra Leone Company. "I have conversed," says the Governor, "with the best informed and most sensible among them, and cannot discern any malice or revenge in their sentiment; that they in fact regretted the war, and thought themselves pursuing self-preservation only. In these communications they mention the Spanish dogs as objects of terror, from the wonderful representations of them, but that they had never suffered by, or even seen them *." "The Nova Scotians," says the report of the committee of the House of Commons, "are now much awed by the Maroons, and look up to Europeans for

* Letter from Sir John Wentworth to the Duke of Portland, dated, Halifax, 20th September, 1796.—*Votes of Assembly*, 1801.

protection. The Maroons are active and intrepid, prodigal of their lives, confident of their strength, proud of the character of their body, and fond, though not jealous, of their independence. They universally harbour a desire of going back, at some period of their lives, to Jamaica, and therefore may with more difficulty be induced by prospects of future benefit to labour for the improvement of their habitations or plantations. These circumstances render them a people not easy to be governed, and to be brought into that state of society which would best promote the civilization of Africa. The suppression of polygamy among them has been hitherto deemed an experiment too hazardous to be tried, and no fair opportunities have yet occurred of ascertaining how far they will submit quietly to such restraints of the civil power as are most repugnant to their inclinations and habits. But there are favourable points in their character. Though they do not desire instruction for themselves, they are glad to have it communicated

municated to their children, who appear to possess very good capacities. They have no jealousy of Europeans; on the contrary, *they appear to be cordially attached to them*, and wish to see an increase of the number of white colonists. They are generally disposed to labour for hire; many of them show a great desire to acquire a knowledge of handicraft trades; and some of them, who have turned their attention to such trades since their arrival at Sierra Leone, have become far more expert workmen than could have been expected. This desire will probably be stronger in their children, who will be brought up in habits very different from those which were formed and confirmed in their parents by their situation in Jamaica."

LETTER XVII.

Influx of Foreigners in Jamaica.—Alarm caused by a Letter written by Santhonax.—Rebellion of runaway Slaves.—The Accompong Maroons and Companies of Woodmen employed to reduce them.—The Rebellion quelled.—Evacuation of St. Domingo.—Question as to the raising Regiments of Black Troops.—Alternative offered by the Colonial Legislature.—Agreed to by his Majesty's Ministers.—Grant for building Barracks in the Interior of the Country.—Alarm on Suspicion of Black Troops coming to the Island.—Fresh Influx of French Emigrants and their Slaves.—Arrival of the Guadaloupe Rangers.—The Assembly remonstrate.—Trade with St. Domingo kept open by Toussaint.—A Commercial Commissioner appointed.—Mr. Douglas the Commissioner discovers a Project for invading Jamaica.—Renders Service to the American States, and forwards Intelligence to Jamaica by which the Project is defeated.—Spoliations at Sea in consequence of the Spanish War.—Alteration in the Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Island.—Questions respecting the Judges.—Kingston made a Corporate Town.—Numerical Tables relative to the State of the Island.

It remains for me to lay before you the state of Jamaica for the last ten years.

The most striking and interesting feature of that period is the Maroon war, the events of which, and its consequences, I have already related to you, reserving for this portion of my task the subjects unconnected with it.

The revolt of the negroes in St. Domingo, the breaking out of the war between Great Britain and France, and the abolition of all manner of slavery in the colonies by the French proclamation, placed Jamaica in a new and awful position. Very soon after the arrival of the Earl of Balcarres, we saw it naturally creating anxiety and suspicion. In the year 1795, no less than 1199 French persons, in consequence of a proclamation, notified their residence in Jamaica, and, from the dispersion caused by the progress of the revolution, fresh numbers were constantly arriving in the island. Intrigues and conspiracies were apprehended. Strict inquiries were made without discovering any grounds for them capable of proof. La

Fitte and Murenson, two prevaricating fools, were examined, and although there was not sufficient evidence of guilt to bring them to a trial, they were confined and sent off the country; and the House of Assembly requested the Governor to remove all the French from the island to Great Britain or to St. Domingo. However anxious the public mind, no events occurred during the remainder of the year 1796, after the transportation of the Trelawney-Town Maroons, to disturb the tranquillity of Jamaica, although intelligence was communicated by the Governor in the end of December of the war with Spain. In the course of the next year a slight alarm was raised by a letter received by Lord Balcarres from General Simcoe, who had succeeded General Forbes in the command at St. Domingo in the month of March. It covered the copy of one from Santhonax, the commissioner of the French Government at St. Domingo, to General Beauvais Leogane, dropped in the plain of the *Cul de Sac*, in the neighbourhood

bourhood of Port au Prince. By this it appeared that he had laid a regular plan for a descent on Jamaica, and for planting the tree of liberty in Kingston: but the style of the composition, and the rodomontade of the scheme, justify the idea of the letter having been expressly dropped to be picked up. The plan was never attempted, but the great influx of foreigners this year created much uneasiness, and laws and regulations were made to prevent their being dangerous. The year 1798 was pregnant with alarm of several kinds, which were by no means groundless. In February, a banditti of runaway slaves, who had formed themselves into a body under a negro named Cuffee in some of the Trelawney mountains, came down upon the neighbouring settlers and committed depredations. They gradually increased in confidence and in numbers, and, before the month of June, had become so formidable, as to excite the greatest alarm in the part of the island they infested: it was even said, that the danger the country

was now threatened with, was much greater than that occasioned by the Maroons*. This, however, could have been only a hasty opinion arising from the proximity of the banditti; for neither their number nor their enterprises are to be at all compared. The party under Cuffee amounted to forty-three; and it was thought there was another party of thirty in the same parish. A considerable band of them attempted to surround and destroy a house † in which there were three white men, one of whom was shot, but the other two, assisted by a faithful negro named Billy, foiled all their endeavours to burn the house, and finally forced them to retreat. These poor wretches seem to have had no determined object: Cuffee, the head of them, and Polydore, were actuated by a spirit of revenge against the master to whom they belonged, and to kill him was the extent of their views. They were heard to say, that they were determined

* Votes of the Assembly, 1798.

† Steele and Pauletts.—This settlement is marked in the map of the seat of war.

to burn all the back settlements in that part of the country, and drive all the people that were there before them, that they might get room to go to Hampstead to kill their master, declaring that if they once got him they would be done *. The recollection, however, of the disastrous and perilous state of the island in 1795 and 1796 was too lively to admit of the slightest degree of supineness. The apprehensions of the mountain settlers and neighbouring planters were transmitted without delay to the Governor, who ordered several parties into the woods to follow and reduce the rebels. A succession of letters, not only from private persons, but from the custos and magistrates of Trelawney, painting the terror inspired by the banditti, and stating the depredations committed by them, induced Lord Balcarres to convoke the Assembly at an unusual time, and they met on the 12th of June. His Lordship informed the House,

* Votes of Assembly, 1798.

that he considered the rebellion to be dangerous in the extreme, unless the most vigorous measures were, without a moment's delay, adopted to crush it; that he conceived the militia, however respectable in other points, not well calculated to follow and reduce the runaway slaves, nor the regular troops adequate to it; and he earnestly recommended the raising of three companies of trusty negroes of the best description, under white officers, each company to consist of seventy privates, for the purpose of constantly ranging the cockpits, and the woods adjoining. On the same principle he advised the employment of the Accompong Maroons; "a body of men," said he, "who have ever remained faithful to their king and country." Acts were immediately passed empowering the Governor to raise three companies of woodmen, to be composed of Indians, free persons of colour, or trusty negroes; and to employ the Accompong Maroons; and the Assembly, after a short session of eleven days, was prorogued. Armed
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with the power bestowed by these acts, Lord Balcarres soon sent against the rebels that kind of force which was calculated to reduce them, and in a short time they were dispersed and heard of no more, so that when his Lordship met the Assembly again in the month of October following, he congratulated them on its being, in ease and quietness, freed from domestic trouble and alarms, and while the island enjoyed a state of unexampled happiness and prosperity. This tranquillity, however, did not long remain undisturbed: at the very time that the Governor was congratulating the Assembly, an event had taken place which was preparing for Jamaica fresh anxieties and alarms. A bloody, or rather mortal and successful, war had been carried on for five years in St. Domingo, which terminated in the necessity of evacuating that island, and of leaving the inhabitants of it to the horrors brought upon them by the principles of the French revolution. It was finally abandoned in October 1798, and the troops from the
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Mole and the Grand Ance, amounting altogether to a thousand, embarked for Jamaica. During the administration of General Williamson, the raising of regiments of black troops had been suggested and highly approved of by his Majesty's ministers at home, who afterwards, when Lord Balcarres conducted the government, directed him to recommend the adoption of the plan to the House of Assembly. The House, however, seeing nothing but mischief in such a plan, strenuously opposed it, declaring it to be of a most dangerous nature, being totally subversive of that colonial subordination, on which depends the safety of the lives and properties of all his Majesty's subjects settled in the West Indies; and they entered into a resolution, that if ever the plan of embodying negroes to be employed off the island were carried into execution by orders from England, it would be necessary for the House to adopt measures for preventing such negroes from ever returning to Jamaica. The ministry, not equally sensible of

of the apprehensions entertained by the members of the House of Assembly, wanting troops for service in the torrid zone, and conceiving trusty negroes inured to the climate best calculated for that service, persisted in urging the scheme as rational, and unattended with danger. The colonial legislature could not vanquish their fears, and were tenacious of their opinions; but, to soften the pertinacity of their refusal, and at the same time to obviate the just objections against the influence of the climate on Europeans unaccustomed to a hot country, they proposed, on condition of the negro scheme being abandoned, to be at the expence of raising four battalions, to consist of two thousand men, to be attached to the island for its defence, and to be maintained and paid by the inhabitants: the men to be enlisted under a promise of being provided with small settlements in the interior parts of the country at the end of a certain number of years, from five to nine; and they instructed their agent in London to arrange with his Majesty's

Majesty's ministers the means best adapted for procuring persons of the description most suitable for the service intended, and at the same time to send out the wives and families of such non-commissioned officers and privates as were married. Desirous of manifesting their esteem for the Governor, they also passed a resolution to instruct their agent to express to his Majesty's ministers their wish that his Majesty would bestow on the Earl of Balcarres the command of these battalions: an honour which his Lordship, though sensible of this testimony of esteem, thought proper to decline. On receiving the proposals for raising two thousand men, the minister offered in lieu of them the 1st and 4th battalions of the 60th regiment, which the House of Assembly accepted. The offer, however, was attended with a condition of the battalions being changed at the King's pleasure, which the legislature of Jamaica acquiesced in, expressing, nevertheless, their reliance on his Majesty's solicitude for the welfare of the colony to prevent

prevent any such change taking place, unless on great and unforeseen emergencies, in which the island should be directly implicated; it being evident, they said, that the removal of the two battalions, after they had been accustomed to the climate and the nature of service best calculated for the defence of the island, and after forming expectations of obtaining settlements in the interior, to be replaced by other troops, not inured to the climate, and not sufficiently trained for the particular service, would entirely defeat one of the great objects the House had in contemplation, that of adding to the population and militia of the island. This being settled, the Assembly resolved that barracks should be built in the interior of the country for the new force expected, and voted fifty thousand pounds to be at the order of the Commander in Chief for their pay and subsistence, and for providing accommodations for them.

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While the House of Assembly was thus employed in measures for preventing any considerable military force being formed of negroes, they were suddenly alarmed, on the evacuation of St. Domingo, by intelligence that the troops employed there were coming to Jamaica. Among those troops were the negro regiments embodied by General Williamson, and a message was immediately sent by the House to the Governor, desiring to know whether any of the troops expected consisted of negroes or people of colour, and requesting that he would give orders for preventing all persons of that description from being landed any where in the island. Although it does not appear that Lord Balcarres coincided in the sentiments of the Assembly respecting negro corps, his Lordship felt it his duty to act conformably to them. He not only assured the House that he had not been informed of any such corps coming from St. Domingo, but he took measures to send from the island all persons of that description disapproved of by them.

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The negro corps embodied by General Williamson were disbanded in St. Domingo, where of course necessity would drive them to seek for engagements among the contending inhabitants. Scarcely was the country relieved of apprehensions that had arisen from the impolicy of admitting negro regiments in the West India colonies, when the House of Assembly again took the alarm at the new and extraordinary influx of emigrants in consequence of the evacuation of St. Domingo, some of whom brought with them a great number of slaves. Near six hundred of these negroes were sent from the district of St. Jeremie at the expence of government, and considerable numbers also from Mole St. Nicholas. About the same time too, the Guadaloupe Rangers, a regiment of people of colour, finding the posts at St. Domingo evacuated, had been obliged to proceed to Jamaica, where they landed on the 1st of December. The Lieutenant-Governor, in giving official information of these events to the Assembly, assured the House that
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the Guadaloupe Rangers should be re-embarked as speedily as possible: but, in speaking of the emigrants, he recommended to the consideration of the Assembly their situation and that of their negroes, who had preferred voluntary slavery under a humane government to freedom under the rulers of St. Domingo. Their masters he described as persons of the most meritorious character, the constant and strenuous defenders of the sacred principles of religion and good order, and as having a just claim by their conduct as British subjects to the protection of the British crown, the benevolence of his Majesty, and the liberality, hospitality, and commiseration of the island of Jamaica. The Assembly, in reply, declared that they sympathized with the misfortunes of the French royalists, but that, after the most serious deliberation, they were of opinion that the introduction of more of the French, particularly people of colour, negroes, and slaves, from St. Domingo, would endanger the security of the island, and increase the alarm and dis-

dissatisfaction already created. They said that had the evacuation of St. Domingo been even foreseen, it would but have required the greater precaution, and that as the operations there, were not undertaken to advance the particular interest of Jamaica, they could not concur in a measure which they apprehended would disturb the tranquillity of the island, however liberal or dignified, in theory, the sentiments that pleaded for the continuance or admission of French slaves into the country. The Governor continued the advocate of the unfortunate emigrants; but in vain did he endeavour to undeceive the Assembly in their opinion that the operations in St. Domingo were not undertaken for the interests of Jamaica, asserting solemnly, and in the most unqualified manner, that the posts in the former, from which the unfortunate persons in question had been compelled to retreat, were considered both by the spirit and letter of his Majesty's commands, as out-posts maintained solely for the security of the latter; in vain did

he urge his Majesty's intentions of granting lots of land to these unhappy persons in some part of the West Indies; the House felt a temporary jealousy in supposing that they saw a degree of obscurity cast over the mind of the executive government, respecting the future welfare of Jamaica, by the immediate sufferings of foreigners; and a secret Committee of Safety reported that French slaves had been introduced into the island contrary to law, that the existing laws were sufficient to rid the interior of the country of them, that the Governor had not given any assurance that they were not to be continued in the island, and that it appeared from evidence taken before a committee of the House, that their introduction had been encouraged by the Executive Government. Finding that the apprehensions of the Assembly were not to be allayed by argument or humane recommendations, every step was taken by the government to insure immediate safety, and almost all the foreign negroes were ultimately removed from Jamaica,

Jamaica ; some to be landed in Martinico, and others to be settled at Trinidad.

Another source of alarm arose from intelligence of an intended invasion of the island, projected in St. Domingo. On surrender of the posts there, by General Maitland, Toussaint L'Ouverture, among other stipulations, had consented that a British commissioner should be permitted to reside in that colony, for the purpose of regulating and protecting the trade which it had been agreed by the treaty should be kept open with Jamaica : the government accordingly appointed to that office Lieutenant-Colonel Grant, a gentleman who had served during the whole war in St. Domingo with great credit. In a very short time such obstacles were opposed to this trade, that no great benefit seemed likely to accrue from it, and as Colonel Grant was a military man, Toussaint thought it common policy to object to admitting him in the character of the commercial commissioner. The hope of im-

proving the trade, however, was not relinquished, and to supply the place of Colonel Grant, it was necessary to procure a person possessed of talents, address, and a perfect knowledge of the French language. These were found united in a gentleman of the name of Douglas*, who had been bred to the bar, but who at that time held a lucrative post in the office of the agent for supplying the troops. A more suitable choice could not have been made: Mr. Douglas, inflamed with a desire to serve the island, resigned the post he filled in Jamaica, accepted the appointment of commercial commissioner, and embarked for St. Domingo. He soon not only reconciled Toussaint to the appointment, but in no small degree ingratiated himself with him. From a perfect familiarity with the language and manners of the French, he established an intimacy with them which led him into a thorough

* Charles Douglas, Esq. one of the younger sons of the gentleman mentioned in a former note. See Vol. I. p. 131.

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knowledge of the state of the country, and of the various plans formed by the Directory of France against the safety of the British colonies, particularly Jamaica. By his address and vigilance he discovered the object of Citizen General Roome's mission to St. Domingo, which was to raise forces and make a descent with brigands on Jamaica, for the purpose of revolutionizing the country, by causing an insurrection among the slaves. With this view a body of brigands, called the *Legion Diabolique*, and several other corps, were raising at Cape François, while Toussaint was engaged on the side of Port-au-Prince in hostilities against Rigaud, who was at the head of an army of mulattoes and negroes in the country about Aux Cayes. Roome applied to Toussaint for aid, which he refused, on pretence of having occasion for all his troops; and certainly he and Rigaud were maintaining a most bloody conflict against each other: but, whatever were his motives, it is clear he would not give the assistance required of him

by the French Directory. Considering himself as the man who had obtained the surrender of the colony from General Maitland, and who had expelled the British arms, he conceived that he was the best judge of the immediate pursuits most requisite for the French colonial interests. He had a dangerous foe to subdue, and a distracted country to reduce to a state of order. He affected to treat the invasion of Jamaica as an enterprise to be considered at his convenience; saying, that an army was unnecessary to subvert a government which would quickly fall before a few of his proclamations. He appears in fact to have been averse to any hostile attempt in Jamaica: not so Citizen Roome, who was moving all the powers of Jacobinism against it. Informed of these proceedings, Mr. Douglas became impatient to dive into the arcana of the projected plan, and determined to visit the Cape in person. At first Touffaint refused him a passport, representing to him the dangers he had to encounter; but Douglas per-

persevered and prevailed, he passed himself for a Frenchman, and under the protection of Touffaint's name, accomplished his enterprise in safety. While he was at the Cape, he rendered the American States a signal service, by apprizing them in time that the French intended to seize upon their ships to execute their project of invading Jamaica; and thus, in putting the Americans on their guard, deprived Roome of one of his revolutionary resources, and essentially impeded his manœuvres in the outset. Continuing his vigilance unabated, he completely made himself master of the plan of invasion, and discovered the names, characters, and routes, of two spies who had been sent to Jamaica to pave the way for the enterprise. He gave immediate information of these circumstances to the Lieutenant-Governor, so accurately describing the spies and their vessel, then lying in Kingston harbour, that the secret drawer containing their projects, plans, and other papers, was secured before they were aware of being suspected. One of

the spies, named Duboisson, saved his life by making a full discovery of the project of his mission. The other, whose name was Sasportas, was solemnly tried, and executed with an awful parade that had due effect; for Kingston, at that time, was full of French people, among whom it was believed there were some accessaries to the plot. The plan for invasion was a very impotent one, founded on correspondent attempts in Kingston confined to certain French brigands and prisoners. Some stands of arms were dug out of the sand near the Polygon at Fort Charles, and a box of national cockades was committed to the sea in the harbour to be floated ashore, but was picked up by a fisherman between Fort Augusta and Port Henderson. These facts gave alarm, but they were not attended with any concomitant circumstances of danger to the island. Sasportas, who was an outrageous Jacobin, seemed actuated by a hope in the mere possibility of success from an attempt in which he might eventually obtain some credit.

credit. Duboisson had been a captain in Dessources's regiment in the British pay in St. Domingo, and declared that he had been induced by poverty, on the evacuation of that country, to offer his services to the enemy. Before they were discovered, Sasportas used to undertake nocturnal expeditions, under pretence of influencing the Charles-Town Maroons, and other negroes, in which he boasted to Duboisson of great success. This, however, was deception; though he was undoubtedly inspired with the warmest fervour of Jacobinism, he did little but endeavour to make himself important in the opinion of Roome, whom he was solicitous to inspire with confidence of succeeding in the attempt. Mr. Douglas, after nearly a year's residence in St. Domingo, returned to Jamaica, whence he was sent with dispatches to England, where he arrived after a short detention at some French port, into which he had been carried a prisoner. Having attended the minister on the subject of his dispatches, and remained in England some time

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in hope of his situation and services being considered, he was referred for compensation to the House of Assembly of Jamaica, who voted him the sum of five hundred pounds sterling. Sensible, however, of his merit, Mr. Dundas procured him the agency for the island of Curasçoa, an office from the emoluments of which he might have received a benefit, had not peace so soon succeeded. In whatever point of view Mr. Douglas's services might have been considered, it is certain that he was far from being a gainer by them. He not only gave up a lucrative appointment, but spent more than two years of his life in transacting the affairs of the country. All were indeed unanimous in granting him unbounded applause, but in respect to compensation, various were the opinions. It is difficult to account for this backwardness of gratitude in an Assembly, who had been prompt enough in some other instances to testify the impression made on their minds by services of various kinds, which I shall probably have to record before

before I conclude my task ; services of a very essential nature, but in which, comparing them with those of Mr. Douglas and those of Colonel Quarrell, I find this difference, that the services of these gentlemen referred to past events and dangers removed and over, whereas the services alluded to had no reference to the past, but combined the actual and future interests of the colony. I know not whether this be a natural disposition in congregated bodies, but it is not uncommon in individuals: he whose life has been saved by another, is seldom so grateful as he whose interests in life are promoted, and in whose welfare the benefactor continues concerned.

When France assumed a sovereignty over Spain, and forced that abject country into an alliance against Great Britain, its ports in the West Indies poured forth a swarm of feluccas and small privateers, which hovering round the island, did considerable damage to the trade, particularly the coasting trade. From their construction
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and lightness they were enabled to elude our cruisers, and derived great advantage from the knowledge of our coasts, obtained by the Spaniards in their trade with the island, which, though contraband, was winked at by the Government. These, uniting with banditti of Frenchmen, composing crews of mulattoes and negroes, mostly slaves emancipated and let loose in St. Domingo by the frenzy of Jacobinism, committed great spoliations, and were seldom captured by our cruisers, which were not sufficiently light or adapted to the pursuit of such petty vessels, and which were generally at stations more distant, where it was likely they would fall in with enemies of more weight. The want of our manufactures, and of a market which the Spaniards had ever depended upon for the sale of their colonial productions, induced adventurers to renew, in the midst of hostilities, the old traffick, under the sanction of British passes, which were granted on our side, and the use of which was perhaps not discouraged by the Spanish gover-

governors, for it was on either side a source of emolument. In consequence, a very brisk trade with the town of Kingston ensued, that occasioned a great influx of specie, of which a considerable part found its way to St. Domingo, and was swallowed up in support of that melancholy and deplorable warfare, which perhaps averted the contest from the shores of Jamaica, but in which Great Britain severely suffered, not only by the unavailing expenditure of her treasure, but by the loss of an immense number of her invaluable troops.

During the agitated period of the war, the colonial legislature took into consideration the situation of the clergy of Jamaica. In the month of November 1797, the clergy of the island presented a petition to the House of Assembly, stating, that the establishment of many of the incumbents was inadequate to their support, and that the provision for their maintenance had been made in the year 1748, a time when
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the value of money was much greater than at this period. The Assembly, on inquiry, found that by a statute of Charles the Second, no ecclesiastical law or jurisdiction had any power, in any case whatever, to inflict penal mulcts or punishments, and that one of George the Second, without directly repealing that statute, invested the Bishop of London with the exercise of ordinary jurisdiction in the island, as it appertained to the regimen of the clergy, but not with authority in respect to the presentation or induction to any of the churches or parishes in the island. It was at the same time observed, that no ecclesiastical jurisdiction had ever been exercised by any deputation or authority from the Bishop of London, and it was suggested that in future the exercise of ordinary jurisdiction appertaining to the ecclesiastical regimen of the clergy should be vested in the Governor. It was also noticed, that the incomes of the clergymen were very unequal, and that the regulations respecting the stipends, rendered the

the rectors in some measure dependant on the churchwardens for the payment of them. The want of provision for the widows and orphans of the clergy, and other defects in the state of the church, were obvious: on which a law was proposed and passed, for the better establishment of the clergy, for building churches and parsonage-houses, and for establishing a fund or provision for the support and maintenance of the widows and orphan children of deceased clergymen. By this act, which was passed on the 23d of December 1797, means are provided for enforcing the erecting of churches, to be, as well as those already erected, exclusively confined to divine purposes; and for building parsonage-houses: the rectors of the parishes are bound to appropriate a certain portion of time in each Sunday, either before or after the performance of divine worship, for the instruction of every free person of colour, and of every slave, willing to be baptised and instructed in the doctrines of the Christian religion, and

for the performance of this duty to attend in church: the stipends of all the rectors in the island are made equal, and directed to be paid quarterly by the Receiver-General, at the rate of four hundred and twenty pounds a-year, exclusive of the several annual sums given by law as a compensation for burials in the church: and a fund is established for the support of widows and orphans of deceased rectors, by a deduction of ten *per cent.* from the stipends, to be vested in the commissioners appointed by law for stating and settling the public accounts, as a loan to the public, bearing an interest of six *per cent.*, which interest is to be applied to the support and maintenance of the widows and orphans. At the time of passing this act, the House of Assembly, in an address to his Majesty, prayed that a power might be vested in the governor of the island to censure, suspend, or remove, any clergyman who might be complained of, in such manner, and according to such regulations as the legislature of Jamaica should provide for,

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with a right of appeal, on removal, to any court in Great Britain his Majesty should approve. This wish of the Assembly was submitted to the consideration of Sir William Scott, his Majesty's Advocate-General, who was of opinion that the proposed delegation of the power of ecclesiastical regimen over the body of the clergy in the island, in the hands of lay governors, who are unacquainted with the nature and exercise of the pastoral office, was liable to objections of no inconsiderable weight. This opinion is written with such elegance as well as learning, that I should grieve to abridge it; the whole, which is addressed in a letter to his Grace the Duke of Portland, shall therefore accompany this*, and I shall only here add, that in consequence of his recommendation, his Majesty was pleased, in his character of Supreme Head of the church, to decide upon nominating three or more respectable clergymen of the island to be his commissaries, for the pur-

* See Appendix, No. 5.

pose of exercising, jointly and synodically, ecclesiastical discipline over the clergy, with powers, under certain restrictions, of punishing offenders. The Bishop of London being consulted on the subject, expressed his willingness for the accomplishment of the measure, and the legislature of Jamaica was informed that as soon as they had repealed the act by which this part of the royal supremacy had been transferred to the Bishop, a proper instrument appointing commissaries should be prepared and transmitted. The act was immediately repealed, and on the 11th of December 1800, the instrument, appointing John Campbell, Rector of St. Andrews; Thomas Rees, Rector of Kingston; Thomas Warren, Rector of St. Elizabeth; Francis Ricard, Rector of St. James's; and R. S. Woodham, Rector of St. Catherine's, his Majesty's Ecclesiastical Commissaries, was sent by the Governor to the House of Assembly, who voted salaries for a register and an apparitor.

In

In the civil departments few alterations have been made within the last ten years. A bill was brought into the House of Assembly to enable the King to appoint barristers of a certain standing, judges of the supreme court of judicature and courts of assize in the island, to hold their commissions *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, but it never passed into a law. The appointments still remain with the governor of the island, who has since made a barrister chief justice. It has been frequently a question among the colonists, whether the planters, gentlemen of education, were not sufficiently well informed for all the purposes of administering justice between man and man, and it has been generally thought by them, that they were. It may be observed, that in small communities, where the laws as well as the cases arising upon them are few, a knowledge of business, with good sense and integrity, may be all that is requisite; but when the laws are very numerous, and cases are multiplied infinitely, a nicety of judgment, which

which can be gained only by study and habitual attention, will be required to solve the intricacies naturally issuing from the great variety of facts, and from the ingenuity of men in the misapplication of principles. But if this observation applies to courts of law, it must also apply to courts of equity, where, particularly in Jamaica, most of the questions relative to large properties are decided, and accordingly the propriety of the chancellor's office being discharged by military men, as it generally is in Jamaica, has been frequently denied. It is true that an appeal in all great cases, either of law or equity, lies to the King in Council, but it must be remembered that the expence is enormous.

To this long letter I have only to add, that the great increase of the number of the inhabitants of Kingston, and the variety of alarms that had been given to the country, rendering the strictest attention to the police of the town necessary, an act was passed in the year 1801, constituting

a cor-

a corporation for the better ordering and managing the police of the town and parish of Kingston, with proper and adequate powers.

With this you will receive numerical statements relative to Jamaica from the latest accounts I have obtained, which will enable you to form a tolerable accurate judgment of the state of the island in those respects.

An Account of the Quantity of TONNAGE received into the several Ports of Jamaica, from the 1st of January 1793, to the 24th of November 1799.

Year.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
1793	109,551	2,232	111,783
1794	139,784	37,875	177,659
1795	110,856	55,695	166,551
1796	88,088	74,774	162,862
1797	88,652	35,923	124,575
1798	121,085	48,338	169,423
1799	109,319	68,886	178,205

An Account of the Total Amount of EXPORTS of the Chief Produce of Jamaica for the Years undermentioned.

Year.	Sugar.			Rum.		Ginger.		Piemento.		Bags of Cotton.	lbs. of Coffee.
	Hogheads.	Tierces.	Barrels.	Punchons.	Hogheads.	Calks.	Bags.	Calks.	Bags.		
1793	77,575	6,722	642	34,755	879	62	8,605	420	9,108	13,029	3,983,576
1794	89,532	11,158	1,224	39,843	1,570	121	10,305	554	22,153	16,842	4,911,549
1795	88,851	9,537	1,225	37,684	1,475	426	14,861	957	20,451	17,766	6,318,812
1796	89,219	10,700	858	40,810	1,364	690	20,275	136	9,820	9,903	7,203,539
1797	78,373	9,963	753	28,014	1,463	259	29,098	328	2,935		7,931,621
1798	87,896	11,725	1,163	40,823	2,234	119	18,454	1,181	8,961	2,859	7,894,306
1799	101,457	13,538	1,321	37,022	1,981	221	10,358	1,766	28,273	30,693	11,745,425
1800	96,347	13,549	1,631	37,166	1,350	444	3,580	610	12,759		11,116,474
1801	123,251	18,704	2,692	48,879	1,514	12	239	648	14,084		13,401,468
1802*	129,544	15,405	2,403	45,632	2,073	23	2,079	591	7,793		17,961,923

* For a detailed account of the returns of imports and exports of the year 1802, see Appendix, No. 6.

*An Enumeration of other EXPORTS, confined
to the Year 1799.*

Logwood and fustick, 13,704 tons.	Hides, 38,379.
Logs and planks of Mahogany, 2,876.	Supple-jacks, 822 bundles.
Gum guaiacum, 62 casks and boxes.	Oil nuts, 10 casks.
Indian arrow root, 24 casks and boxes.	Indigo, 19 casks.
Castor oil, 236 casks.	Shrub, 23 casks.
Turmerick, 397 bags.	Cocoa, 468 casks, 9055 bags.
Lancewood spars, 2,230.	Cow horns, 7130.
Ebony, 21 tons.	Lignumvitæ, 67 tons.
	Goat skins, 46.
	Melasses, 420 casks.
	Planks of yellow sanders, 39.
	Barrels of fruit, 910.

*An Account of the IMPORTS OF PROVISIONS
from Great Britain and Ireland, from the
1st of September 1798, to the 1st of Sep-
tember 1799.*

Flour, 826 puncheons, 3,336 barrels.	Salt Pork, 712 tierces, 14,699 barrels, 3,411 half-barrels.
Ship Bread, 2,729 butts, 1,619 hogsheds, 2,300 barrels, 8430 bags.	Pease, 3,610 casks.
Salt Beef, 1,199 tierces, 13,752 barrels, 3,298 half-barrels.	Herrings, 122,428 barrels.
	Butter, 19,740 firkins.

From the above statement may be seen, in one point of view, the immense advantages derived from the island of Jamaica to the commerce and navigation of Great Britain, exclusive of those arising to her commerce and manufactures from the importation of all the other articles required for the consumption of the island, and for carrying on its plantations and other settlements, brought directly from Great Britain and Ireland, in British and Irish shipping, the amount of which is almost incalculable.

*An Account of the Importation, Exportation,
and average Prices of SLAVES, from No-
vember 1792, to November 26th 1799.*

Year.	Slaves im- ported.		Slaves ex- ported.		Average Price.
	Kingf- ton.	Monte- go Bay.	Kingf- ton.	Monte- go Bay.	Sterling.
1792	2,171	1,189			
1793	20,355	5,980	215	186	£45 16 10
1794	13,257	227	1,330	184	46 9 9
1795	11,459	990	4,214	76	42 17 11
1796	7,967		2,199	121	51 6 3
1797	10,374		2,941	26	51 1 5
1798	9,659	1,419	655	20	58 11 8
1799	10,286	982	62		72 4 10

*Account of Slaves, Stock, Acres of Land,
Land and Poll-Tax, of 1801.*

Slaves,	.	.	.	.	.	.	307,094.
Stock,	.	.	.	.	.	.	213,137.
Acres of land,	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,203,640.
Land-tax,	.	.	.	.	.	.	£55,090 19 3 $\frac{1}{4}$.
Poll tax,	.	.	.	.	.	.	£203,799 19 10.

Estimate

Estimate of the Wars and MEANS for 1802.

Poll-tax,	£140,000	0	0
Ditto, arrears of 1801,	18,000	0	0
Deficiency, two quarters of 1802, and arrears of 1801,	25,000	0	0
Land-tax,	42,000	0	0
Ditto, arrears of 1801,	1,500	0	0
Negro duties,	50,000	0	0
Rum duties,	8,000	0	0
Additional duties,	7,500	0	0
Arrears of former years taxes.	20,000	0	0
Surplus of Revenue,	16,000	0	0
Stamp duties,	38,000	0	0
Debts,	1,000	0	0
Fees on private bills,	200	0	0
	£367,200	0	0
Balance of cash,	202,005	3	4
	£569,205	3	4

*RETURNS from the several MAROON TOWNS
for 1801.*

	Moore Town	Charles Town.	Scotts Hall.	Accompong Town.
Men	53	65 Officers 7	13	38
Boys	20	30	12	25
Women	83	81	10	47
Girls	12	24	11	11
Children	110	54 Invalids 2		15
	278	263	46	136
Grand total, 723.				

An

*An Abstract of the General Returns of the
MILITIA in the Years 1796 and 1797.*

	1796.	1797.
Total of calvary, . . .	1259	1210
Surry infantry, . . .	1864	1774
Middlesex infantry, . . .	2557	2230
Cornwall infantry, . . .	2116	2189
Total of infantry, . . .	6537	6193
Total of militia, . . .	7796	7403

	Effectives.	Effectives.
Cavalry,	104	965
Infantry,	5843	5323
	6885	6288

The years 1796 and 1797 were those when the militia were called most into action. In 1792 the number was greater, viz. the general return, 8172; effective, 7315. Of the infantry in 1797, there were 1331 people of colour, and 469 blacks.

25	22	30	20	Boys
47	10	81	83	Women
11	11	24	12	Girls
12		24	110	Children
		Invalids 2		
136	46	202	278	
Grand total, 713.				

A De-

A Detail of the Barracks, and the Numbers each should contain, as proposed by General Nugent, the present Governor of Jamaica, displaying the regular Forces stationed in the Island.

	Head-quarters.	Detachments.	No.	Tot.
2 Battal.	Up-Park-Camp, -	Kingston, -	1200	
		Port Royal, -	50	
			80	1330
	Stoney-Hill, -		500	500
1 Battalion.	Charles-Town, -		300	
		Burke's, between Port Antonio and Bath, }	100	
		Near Marchioneal, -	200	
		Port Antonio, -	100	
		Port Maria, -	50	750
1 Battalion.	Trelawney-Town, -		300	
		Quashie River, in Black Grounds, }	200	
		Falmouth, -	30	
		Montego Bay, -	30	
		Lucca, -	50	
		Fort Dundas, -	30	
		Savanna-la-Mar, -	90	730
1 Battal.	Fort Augusta, -		500	
		Spanish-Town, -	100	
		Twelve Apostle's Battery, }	60	
		Fort Clarence, -	30	690
	Port Royal (Royal Artillery), }		200	200
			Total	4200

LETTER XVIII.

Culture of new Canes. — Soils. — Remarks on Night-Work during Crop. — Improvement in Sugar-making by Higgins. — New Hints on the Subject. — Neglect of Gardening. — The Botanic Garden. — Clove Tree. — The Bread Fruit. — Proposed Improvement of the Navigation of the Gulf of Mexico by erecting Light-Houses.

THE statements accompanying my last packet will show you, at one view, the increase of sugar, coffee, and all the other articles produced in Jamaica, and the extension of its commerce. They likewise lay before you the extent of the land in cultivation, the augmented number of slaves, the mode of raising the revenue of the island, the returns of the Maroons remaining in the country, and a view of the forces, regular and militia. You are not now to expect from me a narrative of successive events, but information and observations on a variety of miscellaneous

topics respecting the state of the island. The first naturally presenting itself is that of agriculture, and the improvement of the chief staple. With the nature of the cane in general, and of the manufacture of sugar you are already acquainted, I shall only touch upon what is novel. In the years 1794 and 1795, several vessels arrived from Antigua and St. Kitt's in different parts of the island, where they landed for sale a great quantity of the joints of a species of cane of a larger growth than that which had been hitherto cultivated in the island, and which a few years before was the only kind cultivated throughout the British, French, Spanish, Danish, Dutch, and other sugar colonies. The other had found its way into Antigua, Guadeloupe, and Martinico, where it was soon extensively cultivated. It had been imported with several other species, larger than the ordinary cane, from the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius in the East Indies, whether they were probably brought still farther from the East. It is named
the

the Bourbon, or Otaheite, cane. A small quantity, hardly worth mentioning, had been raised in Jamaica. The tops now imported were bought up with the greatest avidity, at the rate of twenty-five pounds per hundred, each top containing from four to six eyes, and the best being culled, the remainder sold for five pounds per hundred. They were cultivated for sale, and soon extensively superseded the small cane, which held its ground chiefly in those parts where, from the nature of the soil, a regular annual succession of growth, called ratoons, rendered a repetition of planting unnecessary; these ratoons rising from the first planting, after the clearing of the woods, on the same stock, thirty, forty, fifty years, and sometimes longer, as in the parish of Trelawney and a great part of St. James's. The new cane, however, gained a considerable footing in those parishes. The Bourbon is particularly distinguished from the common cane by its size and height, it being four times as large, and much higher.

The

The canes rising from the centre of the stock, are by their weight inclined from a perpendicular in all directions around the root: its top, however, is lighter in proportion than that of the common cane. It is attended with some disadvantages. When ground in the mill, it affords less fuel, and the tops, in comparison with the ordinary cane, being infinitely smaller, do not yield an adequate proportion of fodder for the stock: they are besides very coarse, and, according to the size of the cane, produce spicula of a harder and more inflexible kind, consequently are not so digestible or wholesome as the tops of the common cane; whence a change of food or pasture, as of guinea grass or other grasses, is more frequently necessary than in the course of a crop of the common cane, in order to correct the effects of the cane-tops. The Bourbon is said, upon an average, to yield at least one third more sugar per acre than the old cane, and this, although the sugar produced by the former is known to be specifically lighter by an eighth or tenth,

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than

than that produced by the latter. Another of its valuable properties is, that the juice of it is easier cleaned, and a quicker separation made of the dirt and mucilaginous scum by a due proportion of white lime; nor is the sugar in point of grain or colour at all inferior, but generally superior to the other.

A variety of other canes has been introduced into Jamaica of late years, such as the ribbon, the green striped, the violet, the transparent, the Batavian or purple, all of which have various advantages and disadvantages, but are none of them very great rivals of the Bourbon. The ribbon cane stands next in estimation. It is called by the French *rouge et d'or*, being longitudinally striped yellow and deep red. It grows as high as the Bourbon, but is slenderer, and of course resists wind less. The tops are better for feeding stock, and there are some who prefer the juice and the quality of its sugar. The green striped cane is a variety of the ribbon, and differs only in the colour
of

of one of the stripes. The violet is not much esteemed ; the canes being very apt to split as they lie in the fields after being cut down. The transparent is but little cultivated. The Batavian, the body and leaves of which are deep purple, has nothing to recommend it to the planter. It is said rats prefer it to every other ; if so, it would be well to plant some patches of it among the cane-pieces. It is here and there raised, but less for profit than to satisfy curiosity.

To this variety of canes, no doubt peculiar soils and different climates are respectively adapted. By difference of climate, is to be understood the effects experienced in the elevated parts of the interior of the island, and those of the low country ; a difference which only they can comprehend who have experienced it, they who have traversed the wide and arid plains of Pedro, and visited the deluged parish of St. George's on the north-east side of the island. The Bourbon cane thrives in moist soils, but to yield well in a soil naturally

dry, it requires a good deal of rain; otherwise it becomes light and pithy, and the rind turns hard. This happens in dry upland situations, and such as are exposed to the sea-breeze. It thrives best in strong stiff soils, with a mixture of good mould. Land composed of coarse grit and clay intermixed with round flint stones, is particularly favourable to this cane, and none is more susceptible of the advantages of manure and culture. All soils that have a mixture of loose detached flint stones are good, the substratum is generally composed of a mixt grit and clay, its tenacity is sufficient to retain a due proportion of moisture, but not too much to prevent the cane-roots spreading themselves and penetrating for sufficient nutrition. The strong stiff lands in the parish of St. Mary's, are well suited to the Bourbon cane; but the great increase of its produce there, is not a little owing to the quantity of rain that falls. The ribbon cane thrives wherever the Bourbon does, and is said to be better adapted to loose light lands. In the previous history
of

of Jamaica you have an account of the usual mode of the tillage of a plantation and of the manufacture of sugar: I shall therefore only make some observations on the working of the negroes, and suggest an improvement in sugar-boiling, communicated to me by a sensible and experienced planter.

During crop, a great number of the plantation negroes, by spells, is kept at work the whole night. There is not an abuse more flagrant, but which avarice cannot be tempted to forego. I have, however, heard a benevolent planter declare it to be his opinion, that the practice is rather detrimental to the interest of the proprietor. The languor with which work is undertaken after a sleepless night is evident to the eye, and in its effects: the exertions of the fresh sink to the level of those made by the wearied and sleepy whom they join, and whose labours through a long, dark night, give a dulness to those of the day. The cattle too require their due portion

of rest. The mill should never work after ten o'clock at night, nor the boiling of sugar continue longer than twelve: rather let an hour or two be added to the labour of the day in crop-time, and let the refreshment required by nature be deemed sacred from encroachment. They who have observed the tardy operations of the night, one part of the process lagging for the other in alternate delay, will feel the force of this. It is not only the interest of humanity, but of the planter's purse. The business of the crop is seldom suspended during heavy rains, which it should be; and were the works of the plantation always kept in order for making sugar, for which they should be ready at all times, there are often favourable periods for making some out of the usual crop-time, which alone would compensate for any loss that might be feared by giving up the practice of employing night spells: but at the end of crop the works are usually suffered to go out of order.

Great encouragements have always been given by the inhabitants of Jamaica for improving this their grand staple, and many adventurers have at different times offered new schemes. It is not my intention to take a retrospect of these enterprises, but I should be guilty of a great omission, were I not to speak of a gentleman, whose talents and situation in life place him beyond all suspicion of being a needy adventurer. In the year 1796, Dr. Bryan Higgins, a physician of great reputation on chemical subjects, was induced to leave his family and a considerable establishment in London for a time, and to visit Jamaica to employ his knowledge in the service of the island, by improving the manufacture of the principal staples, sugar and rum. In Dr. Higgin's memorial to the House of Assembly, he states that he had discovered certain processes by which sugar might be made whiter, purer, and intrinsically more valuable; rum rendered more grateful and salubrious, and valuable;

the loss by the drainage of melasses prevented; and the fuel used more effectually, and more economically managed. His offers were accepted by the Assembly, and committees were appointed for each county, to attend in making his proposed improvements. The Doctor remained several years in the island, devoting his talents to the service of it. His improvements consisted in the structure of the coppers, which was calculated to prevent any waste of fuel, and to accelerate the boiling of the sugar, and was considered as being very favourable to the improvement of the quality. The construction of the trash-house recommended by him was found to prepare the trash for use infinitely sooner than had ever been known before. His process for meliorating the quality and encreasing the quantity of rum, gave the greatest satisfaction: it is easy, simple, and economical, and it prevents the noxious quality and offensive smell of new rum. The distiller, by setting his vats or cisterns by the hydro-

hydrometer, and the scale adapted to it, acts with certainty and precision, so that no sweets are wasted, and, on an average, about a seventh or eighth of the sweets are saved; and by the use of the ley of the stoke-hole ashes, and other means recommended, the spirit is so rectified as to attain the desired perfection. Whatever tends to increase the value of such important means of wealth, cannot but be liberally rewarded by those who are to profit by them. On his first landing, his plans promising fairly, the House of Assembly voted him three hundred and fifty pounds per quarter, and afterwards one thousand four hundred pounds a-year, to be paid quarterly; and in the year 1801, when his health obliged him to return to Europe, they directed the Receiver-General to remit to his order in England, one thousand pounds sterling, free of all expences. After all, whatever may be the cause, I am told that his plans of improvement were adopted by few of the

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planters,

planters, and continued by fewer still. This may be owing to the power of habit, for men must be impelled as well as taught, and it is difficult to account any other way for a neglect of improvements so decidedly applauded and rewarded.

It is frequently asked why we have not from Jamaica some of the strong, sparkling sugar, formerly imported from that island: to which the best answer is, that the planters have improved themselves out of the practice of making it. Large cock-coppers simmering over the fire, with a crust of dirt, mucilage, and other filth, instead of improving, have made the sugar worse. To remedy this, many in St. Thomas's in the East have begun to skim their cock-coppers, and have found some small benefit by it: but the evil was only half done away; they simmered on. Some, by strict attention to a due maturity of the cane and other circumstances, have improved the look of their sugars, which they

they attribute to the cock-coppers, but sugars that put on a specious appearance in their curing-houses, will not always carry the same across the seas into the market. There is one criterion of sugar, hardly known by any planter, which is this: let several hogheads, as they stand in the curing-house, after having been made a month, be dug out, and it will be found that the sugar smells spirituous, sour, and offensive in a greater or less degree: that which has the least of these unfavourable qualities will prove the best after a voyage. This smell is to be amended, consequently the sugar made better, and less liable to waste on the passage to Europe. It is not to be done, however, by large wide cock-coppers, or the misapplication of the principles of evaporation in the use of wide vessels; for sugar is not to be obtained like salt; but the way to effect it is as follows: the liquor in the *earliest* stage of the process *possible*, is to be made as transparent as pure Madeira wine, not
such

such as in a glass will look like new-made unfettled beer. A certain degree of heat, and the application of some white lime, will be necessary, and likewise skimming; then a perfect quiescent state of the liquor should succeed; for it would be useless to try the process in a previous state, or with the raw juice while the impurities are so diffused throughout, and so thoroughly blended. A separation must first take place of the unctuous and feculent parts from the pure liquor, which cannot be without the previous aid of fire: this must be completed by the addition of a proper lixivium. After this first process of depuration, the liquor, when taken up in a glass tumbler, and suffered to remain quiet for a short time, will appear transparent in parts, interspersed with unequal lines of cloudy substances suspended in various gatherings, but tending to subside. This shows that the gum, mucilage, and other feculencies, before blended with the liquor, are disengaged. Coming in contact by the mutual attraction of analogous substances, they will

will form a more compact and intimate adhesion of parts with one another, and the finer particles of dirt caught and suspended by these inspissated clouds, will leave the remaining part of the liquor perfectly pellucid; when, to complete the depuration, the process of abduction, or removal of the pure liquor, takes place, and the juice so purified is carried rapidly over an intense fire through the taitches, and becomes a good, bright, and strong sugar, superior to any yet produced. This theorem does not arise from a study of the principles of chemistry. Surprising as it may appear, it is a fact that no chemist has ever yet suggested a useful hint in the first stages of the process of sugar-making. In the above discovery, incidental observations led to experiments, and these to incontrovertible proofs. An intelligent and observant planter, who attends to his boiling-house, is the most likely person to make useful discoveries in the process of this manufacture; his experiments on a narrow scale furnishing hints that may be improved

improved on a large one. It is to be observed, however, that to attempt to purify cane-juice to the clearness of crystal, or spring water, would be to travel out of the regions of nature and reason. All cane-juice contains saccharine salts for crystallization, and a residuum convertible into melasses by the same process of evaporation. The melasses will be paler or darker in proportion to the quality of the cane-juice, and perhaps may owe something more of its dark colour to the necessary operation of fire; the discoloration of the grain of the sugar will be in proportion to that of the melasses, which simply affects the surface of the grain or crystal, the latter being pure white.

Little attention has been paid in Jamaica to culture unconnected with that of the great staples of the country. A taste for gardening is unknown, or perceived in solitary instances. Culinary vegetables and native fruits are obtained with little trouble, but the improvement of grounds for the purpose

purpose of delighting the eye, and expanding the emotions of the mind in the enjoyment of cultivated beauty, forms no part of the relish of the planter, who but too generally looks to his country only for the means of securing him delights in other regions. A botanical garden, however, has been established many years, which is reckoned an honour to the island. Dr. Broughton, a physician and botanist of great reputation residing in Jamaica, speaking of this garden in the year 1796, says: "When the country first purchased the garden in Liguanea, it contained a great number of useful trees and shrubs, collected from all parts of the world, also a great variety of ornamental plants, which were so blended, as not only to gratify the botanist, but the lover of horticulture in general. Since that period, the garden seems to have been considered rather as a nursery of exotic trees and shrubs; and in consequence of the introduction of a great variety of these from the South Seas and other parts of the world, the time and

care of the superintendant has been employed for propagating them for public distribution, and the ornamental part of the garden has not been particularly attended to. Since the year 1794, some thousands of plants have been distributed in different parts of the island; such as bread-fruits, jaacks, cinnamon, camphor, saffafraz, sago, black pepper, long pepper, Guinea pepper, mangoes, Otaheite apples, gum arabic, mangosteens, olives, tea, &c., besides a number of less useful plants." In every point of view this garden must be considered as an important establishment, but the greatest benefit it promises, is the cultivation of the valuable productions of the East. The cinnamon, mango, and some other oriental trees, have long since been imported. In the course of the last ten years, the clove tree, by the attention and perseverance of Mr. Buée *, has been successfully introduced into the island of Dominica. In the year 1795 he first

* William Urban Buée, Esq. of the island of Dominica.

gathered

gathered the fruit. There were only two trees that bore, which produced him four pounds and a half of cured cloves, besides two pounds, at least, left on the trees, to obtain mother of cloves*, for the propagation of the spice. Half a pound was gathered from the ground of what had fallen before it was fully ripe, so that the two trees produced more than seven pounds of cloves the first year of their bearing. According to the Abbé Raynal's account, the annual production of a clove-tree in the Molucca islands is about three pounds. There, however, they are topped at from eight to nine feet for the conveniency of gathering: in Cayenne, where they are not topped, they grow larger than orange-trees, and are said to produce from forty to fifty pounds each tree. Mr. Buée sent samples of his cloves to Sir Joseph Banks, who applying for information on the subject to an eminent dealer in the article, was answered that he thought him griev-

* The berries of the clove-tree ripe and fit for vegetation.

ously deceived, in supposing the cloves to be the produce of the West Indies, he being absolutely certain that they came from the East. The samples were afterwards submitted to the examination of some of the principal dealers in spice, who were all of opinion that they would answer every culinary purpose as well as those of the Spice islands in the East Indies*. Last year the Committee of Correspondence were instructed to write to the agent of the island, for the purpose of obtaining plants of the nutmeg, true cinnamon, clove, and other valuable productions of the East. All plants raised in the botanic garden for the general benefit of the island are distributed abundantly, and when any of the planters desire to have any particular kind, they have but to give a month's notice. To cover all the expences of this establishment, a certain quantity of adjoining land

* Further information on the subject of the clove-tree is given in Mr. Buée's narrative of his successful manner of cultivating it, which is inserted in the Votes of the House of Assembly of Jamaica, 1797, p. 363.

has, by the direction of the Assembly, been converted into a coffee plantation, the returns of which are adequate to that purpose.

I cannot quit the subject of culture without replying to your inquiry concerning the bread-fruit, with the nature of which the public have been made thoroughly acquainted by Captain Bligh*, who in the year 1791 arrived at Jamaica from the Pacific Ocean in his Majesty's ship the Providence, and with many other plants, landed about six hundred of the bread-fruit. The soil and climate proving congenial, they could not fail to thrive. A distribution of them was made, and being eagerly cultivated at first, promised to be of general benefit to the island. But ardour subsided as novelty wore off, and there is hardly an instance where the propagation of these plants has been extended with any provident view, or future dependence

* See Bligh's Voyage to the South Sea. The Assembly voted him a thousand guineas.

upon them, in unexpected scarcity. The negroes preferring their old food, most of the planters have been contented with a few to satisfy curiosity. There is, however, one gentleman*, who has cultivated them with care, and judiciously distributed some thousands of the plants into groves and plantations, from which, should a general scarcity of the usual provisions take place, he must derive great advantage; for want would soon reconcile the appetite to a food which is nutritious and sufficiently palatable: and should scarcity never return, they cannot but be considered as ornaments to his estate. This gentleman is also an exception to the remark respecting the general indifference of the planters to the beauty of grounds laid out with taste. Those around his elegant mansion he has disposed in beautiful lawns, groves, and shrubberies, which give his residence the appearance of one of those charming seats that beautify the country, and exalt the taste of England.

* Mr. Campbell of Saltspring, in the parish of Hanover.

The statement of the tonnage employed in the Jamaica trade, which accompanied my last, will show the extent of its navigation, but the subject naturally brings to mind the proposal that was made to the Government of Jamaica in the year 1796, by the Consul at the Havanna, in a letter written by the Marquis del Real Socorro to Mr. Quarrell, for erecting light-houses, in order to render the navigation of the coast of Cuba and of the Gulf of Mexico safer*. The Spanish Council were engaged on the subject of fixing one at the Havanna, for the particular navigation of that port, but the expence of placing others on the points of the gulf and various channels about Cuba being beyond the actual resources of the Council, and the objects proposed being no less important to Jamaica than to Cuba, the Spanish Government declared their willingness to contribute to accomplish an undertaking of so much utility to both nations; and they expressed a desire of knowing the opinion of the most experienced and in-

* See p. 76. of this Volume, and Appendix, No. 2.

telligent English mariners respecting the points where the light-houses should be erected, the manner of constructing them, and the expence. A report on the subject was made to the Council of the Havanna by Captain Farquhar, which was given by Mr. Quarrell to the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, who laid it, together with the letter containing the proposal, before the House of Assembly. You will find it annexed to the Marquis's letter*. The subject was referred to a committee, the chairman of which, Mr. Quarrell, reported; that they had taken the opinions of many of the most respectable masters of vessels belonging to the Jamaica trade, from which it appeared that it would be of infinite service to the trade and navigation of Great Britain, if a light-house were erected on the east end of the Grand Camanas, where his Majesty's frigate the *Convert* went on shore, with seven or eight valuable merchantmen; and that they had no doubt that the Spanish Council of the Havanna

* Appendix, No. 2.

would

would readily on their part, recommend light-houses to be built on Cape Antonio and Point Jacko: that the committee thought that the mode of defraying the expences and the management of the light-houses could only be settled in Europe, and they recommended that the agent of the island should be instructed to lay before his Majesty's ministers the great importance of three such light-houses. The subject is at present under their consideration, and the utility of the object is too obvious to leave a doubt of measures being pursued to establish it.

LETTER XIX.

An Account of several Modes of Agency.—Danger of the middling and small Planters.—Motions in the House of Assembly for taxing Attornies.—Objections answered.—Anecdote illustrative of the Power of Receivers.—An honest Attorney.

I HAVE now to enter upon a painful part of my task, a part in which I am under the necessity of stating such circumstances as cannot but reflect disgrace on those who give rise to them, and from which the weakness, I will not use a harsher term, of the Legislature, is but too apparent. These circumstances arise from the various modes of agency, such as that of the attorney of estates, mortgagee in possession, receiver in chancery, &c. The first of these characters requires a definition. By the word attorney, in this sense, is meant agent; and the duties annexed to his office are so similar to those of a steward in England, that were it not for

for the dissimilarity of executing them, and the dignity attendant upon the former, I should pronounce them one and the same. But as this colonial stewardship is the surest road to imperial fortune, men of property and distinguished situation push eagerly for it. Attornies are of two sorts; fix per cent attornies, and salaried attornies: the profits of the former arise from commissions of fix per cent. on all the produce of an estate, and various interior resources; the latter are paid a certain stipend by some unincumbered proprietors, who have lately discovered that a steward in Jamaica may be hired like a steward in England, by which several thousand pounds a year are saved, and instead of enriching their agents, are poured into their own coffers. The office of both is to attend to the estates of their employers, and to all their interests in the island, deputed to them that the proprietors themselves may live at home, that is to say, in Europe.

Of all the evils in the island of Jamaica, which call for a remedy, and by means of which the most unjustifiable practices are continued, the first and most crying is that of the business of a certain description of attornies of orphans, mortgagees in possession, trustees, executors, guardians, and receivers under the court of chancery; and these evils arise in a great measure from the unjust and impolitic law which allows six per cent. commission on the gross produce of the estates under their charge and direction. The iniquitous practices, screened, if not authorised, by that law, have long been too glaring to be unnoticed; and attempts have been made to reduce the commission, and to fix it on some more equitable principle; but unfortunately there have always been in the House of Assembly, too many of its members interested in the benefits resulting from the present law to admit the adoption of the measure. That the interest of attornies is not always the interest of those whose estates they hold, is an undeniable

undeniable fact, of which I think you will be convinced by the time you arrive at the conclusion of this letter. In many instances too, this superior collateral interest militates against the happiness and amelioration of the state and condition of the slaves, which is now professed by the colonists to be an object of their most serious attention ; and it proves not unfrequently the total ruin of the unfortunate planter, whose involved situation compels him to submit to the condition of consigning his estate to the management of an attorney appointed by his creditor, who is generally his merchant, and who throws the full legal advantages of his debtor's estate into the hands of his own agent in the island, to compensate for the economical bargain he makes for the management of his own concerns ; a practice common also to trustees, guardians, &c. The law allowing such enormous commissions for services so inadequate, is also very defective in an important point ; for it establishes no data for fixing the charge of this commission, which is never made according

cording to the sales of sugar, for that is not
 soon, if ever known to the attorney. Hence,
 in the different accounts, the charges are
 estimated on sugar at several prices, from
 twenty shillings per cwt. to forty-five, and
 even fifty shillings; and in the same books
 of one and the same attorney, these charges
 are found to differ according to his con-
 nexion with his employer, generally en-
 creasing in proportion to the distress of the
 property and of the proprietor. To form
 some notion of the advantages attending
 these appointments, and of their injurious
 tendency to involved proprietors, and even
 to their creditors, let us see what a receiver
 under the court of chancery can do. In
 the first place, it has not always been the
 practice to select him from among the in-
 habitants in the vicinity of the unfortunate
 estates, or from among the friends of the
 proprietor; he is frequently a resident in
 one of the towns, with perhaps as little
 knowledge of the management of an estate,
 as is possessed by the sweeper of the chancery
 office, and indeed it would not be inappli-
 cable

cable to distinguish such receivers by the appellation of chancery sweepers. These gentlemen seldom if ever see the estates which they are to direct, and have no other directions to give, than in a lumping way, to make as much sugar as possible, and to ship it, most likely to their own correspondents. Whatever the estates clear is so much in their hands, and of course the more money the better for them; money takes root in every soil, and propagates itself a thousand ways; not a dollar of it therefore finds its way into the chancery-chest, for the receiver having given security, the treasure is, by a common fiction in use, held to be fully as safe in his hands. While the different creditors of the estate are fighting the battle of priority, the receiver continues to direct the management of it, to ship the crop, and to take care of the money. At length a prior debt is established, and the creditor having gained the point, remains for a time satisfied; but finding, though his principal accumulates, that he receives nothing, he becomes clamorous for
a sale.

a sale. This may take place in five or six years time, when all pretexts for delay are worn out, and in the mean time the receiver takes care to have money, adequate to the simple sums received, turned over by his consignee or merchant to another hand, his banker's, to be ready to answer bills to be drawn *on his own account*, for which he must have a premium of from twelve to seventeen and a half per cent. The estate at last is advertised for sale by a master in chancery, in consequence of an order from the chancellor. The sale, however, is spun out a year or two longer, till the creditor or his attorney begins to remonstrate with the master: stipulations for an amicable settlement ensue, that is, for an admission of the receiver's accounts such as they may be, and for time allowed him for payment of the mesne profits or balance in his hands; which agreed to, the sale is positively to take place *when the next crop is over*. The sale then is actually concluded, the accumulation of these annual funds go unperceived to the farther propagation of wealth for the receiver;

ceiver ; and the purchaser, who is no other than the prior creditor, is put in possession of an estate in ruin, with a gang of negroes dispirited and miserable, who had been long sensible of their situation, conceiving themselves belonging to nobody, and almost despairing of ever falling into the hands of a kind master, interested in their welfare and happiness. Let us now turn to the attorney of a mortgagee in possession, and see what better he offers. The debt of the involved estate is due to a man of large property, or to a merchant ; if to the former, he has a merchant to whom the consignment is of considerable value. It is immaterial what the debt is, an estate in possession of a mortgagee is generally made to pay full commissions to the attorney employed for it. In justice to all parties the most is to be made of the property, and it is soon found that the negroes upon it are not equal to the returns it is capable of making, consequently hired negroes are added to the plantation-gangs, to plant, weed, and take off the crop : the works are extended, to
be

be adequate to the proposed encrease ; more stock, more carts are bought, more white people employed. To keep pace with these grand designs, the poor plantation-negroes are of course overworked. What is the result ? A great deal of sugar and rum is made, to the credit as well as profit of the attorney, and by which the merchant is benefited, as the consignments are augmented : but six per cent. interest on the principal, six per cent. on that interest by compound arithmetic become principal, six per cent. commissions, with the contingent charges for labour, improvements, stores, &c. absorb the whole produce, and the planter daily sinks under an accumulating debt, till he is completely ruined. The greater the distress, the more the attorney fattens : in a war, for instance, a considerable additional benefit occurs ; he becomes lumber-merchant, and having the rum of the estate at his command, and perhaps a little sugar, though in the latter article he is usually restricted, as the disposal of it in the island would interfere with the loading of ships

ships and consignments, he purchases whole-sale cargoes, and retails them out to the estate at a large profit. Staves bought by the attorney at eighteen pounds per thousand, have been known to be sold to the estate for forty-five pounds per thousand; and the cart belonging to the property has carried the rum to pay for them. It is well known that the rum made upon an estate will seldom pay its contingent expences, and that frequently bills are drawn on Great Britain to the amount of one thousand pounds, and sometimes two thousand pounds, for the excess of the contingencies over and above the amount of the sale of the rum: here the attorney finds another avenue of amassing for himself. Settling the excess from his own means, he appropriates the bills which it enabled him to draw, to the purchase of the remainder of a cargo of negroes, after the best have been culled at the rate of from ninety to ninety-five pounds per head: these inferior negroes he disposes of to his dependent overseers, jobbers, doctors, tradesmen, distillers, and book-keepers,

keepers, at forty or fifty pounds a-head profit; nor is it without example, that the very estates on the credit of which some of the bills are drawn, have been supplied with negroes in the same manner, and at the same rate. This manœuvre indeed is ventured only on estates of minors, whose trustees are merchants in Great Britain, ignorant of such practices; or may be, when they have committed the estates to the attorney, liable to the full advantages to be made of them, to compensate for the moderate allowance they give for the management of their own concerns. An island-merchant, or according to the West Indian appellation, storekeeper, in great business, told a friend of mine, that he had sold a cargo of mules at eighteen pounds per head to an attorney, which were dispersed in separate spells of eight each to several estates, but that at the special instance of the purchaser, he had made out the bills of parcels at thirty pounds per head. This does not speak much in favour of the virtue of the storekeeper, but it must be observed that he

would

would have lost his customer had he demurred, and would probably have been considered as righteous over-much. There is a variety of smaller advantages enjoyed by the attorney, such as forming connexions with butchers who may purchase the fatted cattle, with jobbers of negroes for the purpose of intermingling negroes at a proportionable profit, fattening horses, and a long *et cetera*. To the attorney the commanders of the ships in the trade look up with due respect, and as they are proper persons to speak of him to the merchant, their good will is not neglected. To the involved planter their language often is, "Sir, I must have your sugars down at the wharf directly:" that is, your sugars are to make the lowest tier, to stand the chance of being washed out should the ship leak or make much water in a bad passage. When they address an attorney, they do not ask for sugars, but his favours, as to quantity and time; and his hogsheds form the upper tier. The salaried attorney also receives great respect from the masters of ships, but

the high airs and rapid flights to fortune of the six per centers are out of his walk. He is often a plain plodding man, who having served planters in the capacity of an overseer, is promoted with an increase of salary to the office of attorney, which he holds very well and very properly with the other, answering all the purposes of a greater man. He ships good crops, and keeps contingencies low, till praised by the proprietor, and recommended to his friends, he begins to be vain and grows great. He then proves fallible ; the concentrated industry confined with advantage to one estate, is evaporated by the glow of success and extension of care ; he is dismissed by one, employed by others, and at length either falls back to his level, or goes stark mad with pride. It has been often said in Jamaica, that the great planters will swallow up the small ones ; and that middling planters will dwindle and go in their turn. There is nothing absurd in the idea, which by the help of great attornies may be realized, nor are the opulent themselves safe from the pervading influence

influence of this incalculable evil. But where is the remedy? none; but in an alteration of the law, a strict eye kept by proprietors over their attornies, and a resolution of the British merchants to preserve the small and middling planters, the reduction of whom diminishes the security of the country. The alteration of the law should take place in two points; the commissions of attornies, &c. should be reduced, and they should themselves be disqualified from being members of the Legislature. If men, whose individual interests not only often militate against those of the proprietor, whom they should serve and labour to rescue from destruction, but sometimes clash with the general interests of the island, which are made subordinate to them, possess a preponderance in the power of legislation; and if men who are the sinews of a country are depressed and ruined, be the splendour of that country what it may, its situation must be deplorable. Those merchants of Great Britain, who support the present system of attorneyship in the West Indies,

and who are fond of aiding the enormous and destructive schemes of the overgrown planter, in preference to establishing the independence of the middling class, are actuated by a short sighted policy; their chief object should be the general welfare of the island, and they will ultimately find that the aggrandizement of attornies, and the confluence of immense properties, are not the means which wisdom suggests for its prosperity or security.

The general distress of a large accumulated debt, the consequence of the Maroon war, compelled the House of Assembly to resort to every mode they could devise of raising money for liquidating it. It was proposed by some very opulent man, a great attorney, to raise the whole amount of the debt in one year; but the circumstances of others could not possibly admit of it: the taxes were raised as high as could be borne in general, but as large compensations were to be made to individuals for their losses, money was taken up on the security of the island at an interest

interest of ten per cent. In the distress for ways and means, the planters being burdened with as great a weight as most could bear, it was observed that attornies, mortgagees, and trustees in possession, guardians, receivers and sequestrators, enjoyed large incomes by commissions, without contributing to the public fund for expences; and a motion was made, to the immortal honour of the mover*, for the purpose of their being assessed ten per cent. upon their commissions. The records of the country, on examination, ascertained that these gentlemen, one hundred and ninety-three in number, held in charge six hundred and six sugar works, which produced 76,843 hhds. and 3987 tierces of sugar, and 35,891 puncheons of rum. This produce, at the rate of 40 *l.* per hhd. and 25 *l.* per puncheon, the proposed standard for that period, with the sale of stock and other articles, yielded 4,022,460 *l.* on which there was chargeable by law a commission of six per cent. giving an income of 241,347 *l.* 19 *s.* 6 *d.* produc-

* John M'Clean Esq.

tive of a tax of 24,134 *l.* in aid of the public exigencies. The motion for instructing the Committee to make the tax a part of the money-bill was carried by the majority of a single vote*, but when the bill was reported to the house, and the insertion of the proposed clause moved, it was opposed, and the attornies, who held a decided majority in the Assembly, having collected their force, it was rejected by seventeen votes against thirteen. As some reasoning was thought necessary to palliate the rejection of a measure, the justice of which was obvious to the common sense of mankind, it was said, 1st, that the tax would be a partial one: 2dly, why not at the same time tax merchants, tradesmen, and others? 3dly, the tax would operate as a double one on estates. These objections were easily answered; 1st, the partiality lay in the exemption of these gentlemen, all others being taxed: for, 2dly, merchants, tradesmen and others were taxed on their trade and by the poll-tax:

* Votes of the Assembly,

3dly, the charge could never operate as a double tax where the six per cent. law prevailed ; and the rich independent men, who, by employing salaried attornies, snatch out of the fire of that law large sums, ought chearfully to give the mite out of such savings required by the proposed tax : nay, it was said, in this case, to operate as a just mode of assessing the wealthy absentee, who it was allowed should compensate from his purse for the absence of his person, so far as relates to the protection of his property by military service. Besides, let us see how an unincumbered man, who has it in his power to nullify the six per cent. law, stands. Take an estate of five hundred hogheads of sugar, and two hundred and fifty puncheons of rum ; at a moderate computation the commissions will amount to 1200 £. ; the attorney compounding for 600 £. will have 60 £. to pay, and the proprietor 60 £. out of 600 £. saved and added to an income which may be fairly estimated at from 7000 £. to 10000 £. sterling.

Before I conclude this letter, I will relate an anecdote which will illustrate the subjects of it, more than a volume of reflexions. A gentleman, who had long been a merchant in Kingston, and who was afterwards a custos of one of the parishes of the county of Middlesex, had for many years lived in the closest friendship and intimacy with another merchant of the same town, who traded to Liverpool, where he afterwards established an eminent commercial house. The custos, so let me call him, though it was not till afterwards he rose to that dignity, originally kept a small store or shop, in Kingston; which enabling him to provide a good table was the foundation of the attachment of the Liverpool man, who was also, at the commencement of their friendship, a small store-keeper. Unluckily for that friendship they became rivals; both lost their hearts to one lady, who preferred and married the custos; a success that never was to be forgiven by the rejected lover, who, however, preserved the

the semblance of attachment to his friend, till a fatal opportunity occurred of striking a deadly blow. In the course of business the custos, as attorney, became possessed of some demands, in right of others, upon an estate which lay very remote from his residence, and against which a bill was filed. It was taken under the protection of the court of chancery, and the custos, coming forward as a considerable creditor, was appointed receiver. In this situation the estate remained about thirty years, during which time, the receiver managed to buy up for himself most of the other claims upon it. He worked a gang of his own negroes on it, and proceeded in the routine necessary to swallow it up; but in spite of every thing, the perverse and obstinate soil absolutely cleared it of its incumbrances. This, however, was known only to the custos, for the original proprietor was dead, and the persons to whom the estate lawfully belonged, had long ceased to think of a property of which the only thing they had ever heard was, that it was
ruined,

ruined, and irrecoverably gone. The custos at length unbosomed himself to his friend the Liverpool man, whom he commissioned to find out the proprietors, and to purchase their title for him at the most moderate price. The estate had been settled on the original proprietor's daughter and heiress, who had married a poor clergyman in Cheshire or Lancashire. The remote and obscure residence of this couple was discovered, but the reversion of the estate being vested in their son, who wanted two years of being of age, a delay was made till the business could be pushed and concluded at once, without giving a notice, which in the course of two years might have led to an enquiry that must have defeated the object. The delay, however, proved no less destructive to the custos's scheme; for the Liverpool man, chewing the cud of disappointed love, betrayed his friend, and made his secret the means of arranging some private plans, and of advancing his own interests. The lands in question lay between two very valuable estates of a man
of

of most opulent fortune, who was one of the Liverpool man's correspondents. Such a range of rich soil was in itself a most desirable object to the possessor of a contiguous property, but it was besides rendered of inestimable value to him, from its containing a part of the bed of the river, which afterwards ran through his own estate and turned his mills. He had always cast his eye upon it, and was determined if possible to obtain it at any price. The knowledge of this beset the imagination of the Liverpool man, who having some delicate arrangements to make with the rich man, in which his own interest was concerned, determined to make him, and not the custos, the master of it, for little or nothing; by which he smoothed some untoward occurrences, and secured the consignment of a thousand hogsheads of sugar, which he had some grounds for fearing would be taken from him. Having made his conditions, he unravelled the plot, to the rapturous astonishment of his correspondent, a few months before the clergyman's son came

came of age. Too impatient to wait, the happy correspondent flew immediately to the poor dwelling of the unconscious heirs, and having properly introduced the subject to the clergyman, offered two thousand five hundred guineas for the title. Little less enraptured than the gentleman himself, the clergyman declared that he thought it a very bold offer for an expectation which he had long considered of no value. The gentleman assured him, that as he had the means of going to law, he meant, if he became the purchaser, to run all risks, and to spare no expence in recovering the estate. The overjoyed couple, who could not see through the mists of two thousand five hundred guineas any thing half so substantial in the clouded prospect of a West Indian property, were eager to conclude the bargain, and by legal instruments of conveyance disposed of their rights ; and shortly after, their son coming of age, the full title in fee was made over to the purchaser, who taking all his measures by the Liverpool man's advice, lost no time in

establishing his acquired title. He hastened to Jamaica, and at a considerable expence brought the receiver to an account. The custos was all amazement, and not being able to pay the amount of the balance in his hands, not only gave up the estate to the purchaser, but also made over a large tract of land belonging to himself in the eastern part of the country. The estate has been consolidated and improved, and is now one of the first properties of its size in the island.

I must not omit to state to you, that acts have been passed, and amended, for obliging attornies and other agents to record accounts of crops, to prevent frauds. Like some other laws of the colonies, however, they catch the eye and sound well, but *præ-terea nihil*; the obligation to record a crop is no obligation to make a good one, nor does it diminish the facility of the ruinous system you have been contemplating.

And

And now let me warn you against thinking, after the perusal of this letter, that there is no such thing to be found in the West Indies as an honest attorney. My sole intention was to expose to you what certain agents have it in their power to do, and what is too often done by them; but while I am writing I have in my recollection a worthy and honorable man, who was for a series of years engaged as an attorney to absentees, whose properties were improved by his honesty, assiduity; and good sense. I would not scruple to name him, but that the distinction might seem to be injustice to some others, who, I believe, are equally entitled to a similar tribute of applause.

LETTER XX.

State of Opinions respecting the Slave-Trade.—Internal Legislation established in the Hands of the Colonists by Custom and Reason.—Contrasted Statements.—Suggestion of a Mode for obtaining Negroes in Africa.—Observations respecting the Population of Creole-Blacks, and the Attempt of cultivating Sugar-Plantations by free Negroes.—Present State of Slavery in Jamaica.—Defects of the Colonial System.—Difficulty of remedying some of them.—Religion.

No colonial subject has more engaged the attention of the public in the course of the last ten years, than the slave-trade and slavery. All the feelings of the heart, and all the deductions of reason, have been called forth in support of the adverse opinions on these points. What on the one side has been stated as unjust, inhuman, and horrible, has on the other been argued to be the result of the present state of nature, wisdom, and true philanthropy. With the picture of the struggles and lamenta-

lamentations of human creatures torn from their country, their homes, and dearest ties, to be hurried to a land of slavery and inhumanity, has been contrasted the display of the advantages accruing to men snatched from the most deplorable state of barbarism, often from a savage execution, to be reclaimed and employed in peaceful industry*. To enter into an extensive discussion of the dispute on these topics is foreign to my design, for I only profess to show you the present state of things in the colony, and I shall therefore restrain myself chiefly to what has lately occurred, and to novel suggestions, adding occasional remarks that appear to me con-

* The slave-trade, in spite of the unpopular light into which it was thrown, had many able and worthy advocates, among whom the Duke of Clarence was uncommonly strenuous. The Assembly of Jamaica, to evince their gratitude, voted three thousand guineas to purchase a service of plate to be presented to his Royal Highness. Nor did they forget to acknowledge their obligation to their agent, Mr. Sewell, who exerted himself on the subject with distinguished abilities: they voted a thousand guineas to purchase him a piece of plate, in testimony of the sense they entertained of his important services.

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ducive to future utility. The perseverance of the friends to an abolition of the slave-trade to effect it has been unremitted, and has from time to time excited great alarm among the colonists, who have not only laid before the public general arguments derived from the state of nature and from the gospel*, but have roundly and boldly insisted on the right of obtaining negroes from Africa. To the King, in an address written in 1797, they said, "We can with truth assure your Majesty, that no opportunity, no circumstance, which may enable the Assembly of Jamaica to make further provisions, to secure to every person in the island, the certain, immediate, and active protection of the law, in proportion to their improvement in morality and religion, shall be neglected; but we must at the same time declare, that we are actuated by motives of humanity only, and not with any view to the termination

* See a very strong, perhaps unanswerable, letter, addressed to the Bishop of Rochester, and published in the Supplement of Cobbett's Annual Register, Vol. I. of 1802.

of the slave-trade. The right of obtaining labourers from Africa is secured to your Majesty's faithful subjects in the colony, by several British acts of parliament, and by several proclamations of your Majesty's royal ancestors; they, or their predecessors, have emigrated and settled in Jamaica, under the most solemn promises of this absolutely necessary assistance; and they can never give up, or do any act that may render doubtful, this essential right." The colonists, however, while they took every occasion to defend the principle of the slave-trade, and to maintain their right to carry it on, were ready to condemn all cruelty practised in the course of it, and eager to remove every hardship to which the negroes were liable in the passage from Africa. With a view of promoting the humane and beneficent objects of the British legislature in that point, and of obviating one of the causes that impeded the natural increase of the negroes, the Assembly passed a law, granting the King a duty, so heavy as to operate as a prohibition,

hibition, on all imported negroes above twenty-five years of age. Still the total abolition of the trade was constantly aimed at, and when direct means were not adopted, consequential ones were thought of. The colonists saw, or thought they saw, grounds for apprehending that with this view his Majesty's ministers had in contemplation, by an act of the British legislature, to resume all patents of land granted and not settled, which, by preventing the extension of the cultivation of the colony, would lead to the gradual and complete abolition of the slave-trade, as the further importation of Africans would become less necessary; upon which they boldly declared, that the measure would be a direct violation of those rights they were entitled to as British subjects, and that it was incumbent on the people of Jamaica to resist it by all possible lawful means*. They asserted that they were enabled

* This resistance could not mean a struggle of physical strength, but the opposition of moral, and as expressly worded,

enabled by their constitution to legislate for themselves in all matters relating to internal concerns, a right which they had enjoyed for upwards of a century; and that the principle, though not publicly recognized by an act of parliament, had nevertheless been deemed, by all wise and just characters in Great Britain, to exist in full force, and that parliament had no right to infringe or abridge it, by enacting any law for their internal regulation. The minister having declared that the further increase of negro population in the colony would prove highly dangerous to the white inhabitants from the inequality of the numbers, a committee of the House of Assembly stated it to be their opinion, that the judgment he had formed was

worded, legal means; not a recourse to arms, but to petition and remonstrance; and, therefore, did not call for so harsh a comparison as that made by an animated champion of negro liberty, who said, "The palsied bed-ridden patient might as rationally threaten violence to his nurse, for putting sustenance into his mouth." Though, to have made the simile complete, he should rather have said, "for taking his sustenance out of his mouth."

erroneous

erroneous in the extreme ; for that nothing could so greatly contribute to the increase of white population, and that too of the description likely to be most useful for the security of the country, as the encouragement of small settlers in the interior, an observation which has been confirmed by experience ; and that were the prospects of acquiring property in land, and negroes taken away, no persons in whom confidence could be placed would adventure to the country, consequently it would soon become impossible to carry on plantations to any extent, and the most useful white population required for agricultural purposes would be reduced to a very alarming degree, from which it was evident that the internal safety of the island, instead of being promoted by an abolition of the trade, would be very highly endangered.

The right of internal legislation asserted by the committee, was examined with some asperity, and in a language bordering upon insult, by an ingenious writer, who

has caught that calenture of the heart, which proceeds from a fermenting benevolence, and which raises a fairy ground about the State vessel, tempting the patients to plunge from the deck into a fathomless ocean. He has endeavoured to show that the statutes of Great Britain on colonial subjects are all hostile to this claim, and he asserts it to be a monstrous position that the mother country may not interpose and correct the evils that may arise from internal colonial regulations. To this the West Indians have to answer, that they did not build their claim on the statute law, but on rational usage for more than a century; that the act of William the Third, declaring laws made in the colonies repugnant to English statutes extending to or naming them void, could only allude to statutes generally, and could have no reference to the constitutional usage of the colony, in which it made no alteration; that the Declaratory law (the sixth of George the Third) asserting a parliamentary right to legislate for the colonies in all

all cases whatever, was counteracted by a subsequent act (eighteenth of George the Third) as to taxation, and had never been acted upon in cases of interior government, in which the colonial usage constantly prevailed; that this Declaratory act was particularly directed against the turbulent spirit that manifested itself in North America; that the word *legislate*, however strengthened by the addition of *in all cases whatever*, could not be taken in a sense replete with absurdity, namely, to legislate without a sufficient knowledge of the subject on which the parliament undertook to legislate, which must be the case in all local laws; and that admitting the power of the mother-country to interfere in the internal regulations of the colony, it was but common justice, when they did so, to appoint a committee of the legislature to go and reside a certain time on the spot, to investigate the nature of the business proposed, and to decide fairly, from experience, questions obscured, at the distance of four thousand miles, by impervious

clouds of passion and contradictory testimony.

I state to you the more freely and the more strongly the reasoning in favour of the colonists, as I am sensible of an ardent tendency in my heart to disapprove the slave-trade; but while our feelings rise up in arms against the horrid tales that have been laid before the public, let us not shut our ears to the reasoning of the planter, because he speaks from self-interest, and because self-interest may create prejudices. Self-interest is no criminal motive, although the means of promoting it may be vicious. Let us support philanthropy on both sides. Free men are kidnapped, and wars are excited to procure captives; families are separated, and wretched victims are consigned to suffocation in a loathsome transport, forced across the ocean, and sold for life to merciless tyrants. If this be true, Oh! that the Omnipotence ascribed to the British parliament may eradicate these evils, and punish the perpetrators of them! Amen,
 say

say the planters. In certain uncivilized regions of the globe, there are immense numbers of wretched black men existing slaves to barbarians of their own colour, plunged in ignorance, and subject to all the wanton cruelties and miseries of savage tyranny *. In visiting those coasts to promote the interests of European colonies, and consequently of Europe, the colonists rescue these unfortunate blacks from a state of horrid and savage slavery, to place them in a mild and civilized state of servitude; they snatch them from the most degrading idolatry, and lead them to the benevolent system of the gospel of Christ. In doing this, care is taken to part no happy families, to break no kindred ties, to seize

No sportive negro, panting at the line,
 Who boasts of golden sands and palmy wine,
 Who listless basks, or stems the tepid wave,
 And, born to freedom, scorns to be a slave.

If this be true, long may self-interest combine with nobler motives to continue to

* Tyrant and slave is the only government among savages.

improve the condition and the happiness of this race of men ! If this be true, say amen, ye who have in a great degree confirmed the assertion, by subscribing your names to a report in which it appears that the feeble-minded and debauched tyrants of Africa sell their slaves * ; and in which it also appears that free negroes are not to be depended upon for cultivation †. Con-
trasted

* We are told in the report of May 1802, respecting Sierra Leone, “ that whoever can possess himself of a few slaves, may become the head of a town, that success in raising rice, and in trading, enables this head-man to encrease the number of his slaves, and consequently his strength and influence ; that many freemen then seek his protection, and put themselves under his government : that in this way some of the most considerable towns in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone have arisen in the course of a single generation. “ A feeble-minded or debauched successor,” say the reporters, “ by felling, under a variety of pretexts, (most of which the superstition of his country supply,) those whom in policy as well as in justice he ought to protect, destroys in a still shorter period, the power which has been thus raised.” See a report of a Committee of the House of Commons appointed to examine the petition of the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, May 25th, 1802.

† “ The Nova Scotians and Maroons are not likely to employ their own lots of lands in the production of any material

trasted statements like the above, confound the understanding, and suspend the judgment : but when we see the experience of the opposite parties concurring in the two following points, that the slavery of Africa is worse than that of the West Indies, and that free negroes will not cultivate the earth farther than to obtain a coarse and scanty supply for immediate necessity, we may be forgiven if the idea should come across our minds, that the slave-trade may be made a blessing, if it be not already one. I advance this, however, with some awe, for I am aware how unpopular the side it seems to take. And let me not be mistaken. God forbid that I should support a position of which the object were to diminish the happiness of my fellow creatures ! If that be really the effect of the slave-trade, may the

terial quantity of articles of exportable produce, for though they have at different times cultivated ground to a considerable extent, no great dependence can be placed on their steady pursuit of any agricultural plans." *See the report of a Committee of the House of Commons of 25th May 1802.*

Omniscient

Omniscient and Omnipotent Being to whom the truth is known, grant that a stop may be immediately put to it ! But, lest it should be a blessing in itself, lest the abolition of it should not only prove ruin to the planter, but a curse to Africa, by arresting the improvement of the lot of many thousands of its inhabitants, let not the omnipotence of parliament, which never can be accompanied by omniscience, aggregate bodies being doomed, like individuals, to see through a glass darkly, proceed to stop a source of certain good, before the greater evil be ascertained beyond dispute. The colonists affirm that the slave trade, far from being cruel and improper, “ is consistent with charity and the best feelings of humanity* ;” and that free negroes will not heartily engage in agriculture. These positions seem to derive considerable support

* See a dispassionate, sensible LETTER ON THE SLAVE TRADE, addressed to Lord Penryn, chairman of the meeting of West-India planters, held on the 3d of May 1800. By a West-India proprietor. Published by Cawthorn, Strand.

from the incidental, unintentional confessions of their antagonists already cited. However disgusting, therefore, the pictures presented to us of a traffic of human creatures, it is incumbent upon us to shut our eyes to the magic of the pencil, to guard our imagination against the obeah of poetry, and to appeal to homely fact and unerring experience for the ground of action. The mild and humane West-Indian, whose letter I have just quoted, after showing the mutual benefit of the slave-trade to Africa and the colonies, recommends, in a genuine spirit of philanthropy, that commissioners should be sent from England to the principal ports in Africa, there to make regulations for the treatment of the slaves when received, and whilst on their passage to the West Indies. The report of the Committee of the House of Commons of May 1802, furnishes grounds for improving upon this idea. Let the headmen of the towns there mentioned, be induced by advantages to enter into a rational spirit of the trade. Let humane regulations be presented to them
by

by the proposed commissioners for the obtaining of negroes; let the nature of colonial agriculture in its improved state be fairly explained, let the negroes to be imported be informed of the tenure of their service, and not suffered, as is said, to imagine that they are purchased like cattle to be eaten. It is perhaps not impossible by proper means to produce such an effect among the poor Africans, as not only to make them set out on the voyage with cheerfulness, but contend for the preference of removal. Men convinced that the change is from a perpetual abject life of savage slavery, to mild servitude and a comfortable and secure existence, would probably be as eager in Africa for emigration as the poor and distressed of any country. To perfect this plan, might be a work of time, but not of such length, by centuries, as the internal civilization of Africa, laudably originally, but fondly, undertaken by the Sierra Leone Company. It would perhaps not be unworthy the consideration of that Company, on finding that they had taken a wrong ground

ground in their pursuits of humanity, to change it for one less brilliant, but promising more substantial happiness to the race of man; and since universal liberty has been lately so fully proved to be a phantom, to join cordially with the commissioners recommended, in establishing humane modes of obtaining negroes from Africa, for the ships that come for that purpose to the coast; and to remove the great objection to the trade, which arises from the encouragement that it may give to acts of violence, oppression, and fraud among the natives towards each other. Were they to do this, instead of a colony existing in perpetual dread of being slaughtered; instead of wars with King Jemmy and the Timmanies, and other savage tribes; instead of owing their existence, as a company, chiefly to the difficulty the government feels itself under, of finding a proper place for the Maroons and Nova Scotians *, they would flourish, they would

* See the evidence supporting the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons of May 25, 1802.

have

have it in their power to meliorate the lot of their fellow creatures ; thousands and tens of thousands of miserable men would be at their election to bless in this life, and save eternally. If any one be inclined to think that I mean to ridicule or insult the Sierra Leone Company, he does me injustice : believing their motives to be pure, I admire and respect them ; my feelings, I am sensible, are in some respect similar to theirs ; but reason is stubborn, and sentiments that flow from impulses of the heart, however amiable, must be corrected by the decisions of the understanding. I should, indeed, deem it a gross and unpardonable insult to the Sierra Leone Company, did I in jest advise them to become slave-merchants, and undertake the very thing they reprobate, to remove men from freedom and happiness to slavery and misery. No : I would have them what they wish to be, the guardians of humanity, the promoters of rational felicity : and certainly they would not answer this description, were they to make the change I have dared to suggest,
if

if they were not completely seconded by the colonists, and by the internal colonial arrangements which should prove, that a "mild servitude, under humane regulations, is the system best adapted to make the people removed happy in themselves, and useful inhabitants of the earth*." This naturally leads us to take a view of the present state of slavery in Jamaica, to which I shall proceed after making a few observations on two points, more immediately connected with the subject of the slave-trade; the adequate encrease of a Creole population, and the practicability of cultivating by free negroes. The causes that restrain the population of the negroes in the West Indies, have been impartially stated by Mr. Edwards. The colonists in improving the condition of their slaves, have certainly taken the best means to promote the encrease of Creole births, but till cohabitation shall be better regulated, and polygamy, or rather the appropriation of several

* West India Proprietor's letter to Lord Penryn.

women by head negroes° abolished, which can only be by the introduction of christianity, and the laws of marriage, there can be no hope of any great alteration in this particular ; though it is a known fact, that on some estates the population does increase: but even were all impediments removed, there could not be so rapid an encrease of population as to afford a prospect of settling the country without a supply of Africans. With respect to cultivation by free negroes, how little acquainted must they be with the negro character who can be led to believe that free negroes would, or could carry on the variety of work necessary upon a sugar estate. In Africa, the little cultivation undertaken near the coasts for trade, is carried on by slaves ; and we have seen in a committee of the House of Commons, the chief supporters of African liberty despair of any great attention to agriculture from two considerable bodies of free negroes, which one would imagine decisive of the question. There never was an instance of a free negro

4

hiring

hiring himself to work as a plantation-negro. In the instances I have given of the Maroons, in a former letter, their labour was confined to the cutting down the woods, and clearing and planting the land ; which they undertook for a specific sum, and performed at their leisure when they wished to supply some immediate want : but no Maroon or free negro ever did engage himself to cut canes, load carts, drive mules, carry trash, or stoke ; and of upwards of six hundred of the Trelawney Town Maroons, not more than forty or fifty ever undertook any work but for themselves, and that with nothing of the regularity requisite on a sugar-plantation. Of the ten thousand free people of colour and blacks in Jamaica, not ten would be tempted even by a dollar a day, to engage in the employments I have mentioned. Besides, cattle-keepers, watchmen, and negroes of other occupations, must necessarily be attached to the estate. Add to this, that there would be no redress on any loss that might arise from negligence ;

and the free man might leave his master's service at a moment's warning *.

Let us now contemplate slavery as it stands under the consolidated law of Jamaica, and let us consider what yet remains to be done, to accomplish the relative happiness of the body of black people in the West Indies, in that state to which it has pleased God to call them.

What! God call men to a state of slavery? Be not surprised, my friend; I have not recanted my former opinions; I am still an enemy to the very name of slavery. I would have all men free; I would have all men virtuous, religious, and happy. I would

* Among the happy, free, and equal inhabitants of the United States of America, they turn liberty in this respect to an excellent account. Servants not only quit their master's service without warning, but before they enter it demand a reference for his character. I was at a gentleman's house in one of the principal towns of the United States, when a negro applying for his place, asked of whom he should inquire the gentleman's character.

banish vice from the moral world, and evil from the natural one. I would make earth a paradise, and I would in succession translate men to regions of greater bliss to all eternity. What think you? is not this better than the unintelligible mode chosen by Providence, for the conduct of his operations? am I not intitled to the gratitude of mankind for being so much more consistent than the ruler of the universe? But my reveries will alter none of his mandates; and that what he permits will ultimately appear to support the system of infinite wisdom, I humbly acknowledge. That he has permitted slavery cannot be denied by those who allow his superintendence: he has permitted it, as he has permitted other evils; these it is the part of man to counteract and alleviate. He is not forbidden to do so, and it is a part of his duty; but he must do it wisely, to do it well; he must do it wisely, or he will increase instead of mitigating the evil. I should think it no inconsistency in him who advises a general emancipation as the re-

medy of this evil, to advise amputation for the gout. I am the enemy of tyranny, and the friend of happiness; an enemy to that slavery, “ which implies the degradation of animated nature into a monstrous machinery wound up and kept in motion by torture;” and a friend to that happiness which results from virtue, and which every man, “ whether he be bond or free,” must owe to the all-wise disposer of events. Let us not quarrel about words, nor excite the enthusiasm of men to contend for shadows. Let us equally avoid inflaming the minds of any class of people with pictures of unattainable enjoyments, while we endeavour to render the yoke easy, and the burden light. Liberty and independence are very vague terms: there is no such thing as absolute independence; and society is itself peculiarly a state of various degrees of dependencies, in which the lot of some, considered in a temporal point of view, is apparently a miserable condition when compared to the enjoyments allotted to others of the human race. To attempt to equalize happiness

pinefs by comparifon with more favoured
 fituations of life, is to deftroy the basis of
 it, content. Of the great mafs of mankind,
 content and hope are the fources of felicity:
 the diftinctions beftowed by fortune are
 comparatively in the hands of few, and if
 none are to be happy while others are more
 fortunate and happier, life would indeed be
 but fcenes of confufion and misery. But
 even in a comparative view, the condition
 of the flaves in Jamaica does not rank the
 loweft or moft unfortunate. In the moft
 enlightened quarter of the world, in Europe,
 a great portion of mankind are in a ftate of
 misery far more deplorable than what is to
 be found among the Weft-Indian blacks;
 and perhaps in England itfelf, the compa-
 rifon might in fome inftances turn out in
 favour of the Weft Indies. The compari-
 fons have been already made, nor is it my
 intention to repeat them here at large; I
 only mean to attribute flavery, like all other
 conditions of life, to the operations of
 Divine Providence, and to confider the
 negroes as in a ftate to which it has pleafed

God to call them. In that state much has been done, and much may yet be done, to render their existence comfortable, and in a considerable degree happy ; but a sudden transition from that state to the degree of independence enjoyed by their masters, would rather be to plunge them into misery than to extricate them from it. Again I beg you to believe me a friend to real liberty ; but happiness is our subject, and if the question be, whether there can be any without liberty, thereby meaning the uncontrolled direction of time and employment, I have no scruple in affirming that in the present state of human nature, and particularly among the blacks, the want of liberty is not inconsistent with a portion of happiness superior to what is enjoyed by many who are deemed free : not the happiness of educated minds, but what is generally termed happiness in the mass of mankind, a certainty of being provided for through life, and agreeable feelings in their intercourse among themselves. Slavery, in the manner it has existed, must be an abomination to every man who has
any

any degree of feeling or understanding, but as it is capable of being modified, and as it is modified by humane masters, it presents not those horrors which some lively imaginations and good hearts attach to it. That the state of it in the West Indies previous to the time of our present inquiry, was inconsistent in many respects with the principles of humanity, there is ample testimony. In the consideration of avarice, the welfare of the negro was too frequently forgotten; labour was pushed to an enormous excess, and the modes of coercion were disgraceful and barbarous. But there was also a number of good masters at all times, and these generally were the West-Indians themselves; for, strange as it is, the cruelties we have so much reprobated, were chiefly to be charged to Europeans, not indeed men of refined education, but successful adventurers. It is not, however, my task to expose a monster no longer existing, let us therefore turn from the past, and take a view of the present condition of the negroes in Jamaica.

The

The negroes are the labourers of the country; their working does not depend upon their will, nor is it the result of their immediate corporeal necessities, but, in consequence of their relative situation, they are called upon to cultivate the soil, and perform every business enjoined them, as a duty; and this duty they are compelled to perform. The mode of labouring is adapted to the nature of the culture in which they are engaged, and is much the same as described in the succinct history of Jamaica. In the colonial laws relative to them, we see the following regulations and ordinances: Masters, who are proprietors of lands, are obliged to allot and appoint a sufficient quantity of land for every slave he has, and allow him sufficient time for working it, and are moreover bound to have other grounds, at least one acre for every ten negroes, planted in ground-provisions for the use of his slaves; and every planter neglecting the care of these grounds, forfeits fifty pounds. Masters who have no lands, are obliged to provide for
the

the maintenance of their negroes by some other means. All owners are bound to keep their sick, aged, or disabled negroes, and to provide them with wholesome necessaries of life ; to clothe them every year ; and to instruct them in the Christian religion. Persons mutilating negroes are to be fined and imprisoned ; and in very atrocious cases, where the owners are convicted of the offence, the slaves so abused are to be made free, and the fine of a hundred pounds paid to the vestry of the parish, who in consideration thereof, is to pay the enfranchised negro ten pounds a-year during his life ; and the justices and vestry are appointed a council of protection for such slaves. Whoever wantonly, willingly, or bloody-mindedly, kills, or causes to be killed, any slave, is to suffer death without benefit of clergy. Whoever wantonly or cruelly, whips, maltreats, beats, bruises, wounds, or confines, without sufficient support, any slave or slaves, is liable to fine and imprisonment. All arbitrary punishment is restrained so far, that if the
crime

crime committed is deemed to deserve more than ten lashes, it shall not be inflicted on any plantation or settlement, but in the presence of the owner, attorney, guardian, executor, or administrator, or overseer of the place, under whose care the slave is; nor in any workhouse or jail, but in the presence of the supervisor or keeper, and on no account shall they punish a slave with more than thirty-nine lashes; or cause him to be whipped twice in one day, or a second time before the delinquent is recovered from the effects of any former punishment. Putting iron collars on slaves, and loading them with heavy chains, are prohibited under a severe penalty. Sick, old, or disabled negroes, deserted by the owners not to be found, are to be taken care of by the parish. The negroes are allowed holidays at particular times in the year under certain political restrictions; and one day in every fortnight to cultivate their own grounds, besides Sundays. They are not to be compelled to work upon the plantation before five in the morning, or
after

after seven at night, except during crop ; and in the day they are to be allowed half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner. Annual accounts of the births and deaths of negroes are to be given in to the vestries of the respective parishes, and the surgeons attending the negroes are also required to make annual returns of their deaths, under the penalty of one hundred pounds for every neglect of return. After balancing the statements of births and deaths, if the population of any estate is found to be increased, the overseer is entitled to a reward from the proprietor of three pounds for every one on the increased list, and the sum is repaid to the proprietor by a deduction from his taxes. Every female having six children living, is exempted from hard labour ; and her owner from every tax on her account, if she is provided with the means of an easy and comfortable maintenance. Slaves charged with offences for which they are liable to be punished with death or transportation, are to be tried by a jury consisting of nine
 11 jurors,

jurors, such as are usually warned and impannelled to serve on juries, at a slave-court held for the purpose before three justices. The execution of a slave sentenced to death is to be performed in a public and solemn manner, and by no other mode than that of hanging; and when several are capitally convicted for the same offence, one only is to suffer death, except in cases of murder and rebellion. The proceedings on these trials are to be recorded. Inferior crimes and misdemeanors are punishable in a more summary manner, on a hearing before two justices of the peace, who are empowered to inflict punishments, not exceeding fifty lashes, or six months confinement to hard labour.

Such are the ordinances for the protection and comfort of the negroes, and for the encouragement of population; a more humane or liberal code, consistent with the relation of master and slave, it is hardly possible to invent or devise; and in the present state of human nature it may not
unrea-

unreasonably be deemed by men of sense and sensibility, an adequate compensation for the various restrictions necessarily imposed on that liberty, or freedom of agency so much talked of, and so little known.

No, say some philanthropists, we cannot let the planters off so easily: these ordinances may be mighty fine in contemplation, but are they efficient in practice? Is there any such thing as a council of protection, who are active in espousing the interests of the negroes, and to whom they dare fly when injured? How are we to rid our imagination of the annoyance created by the ideas we have received of the sudden thunder of the cattle, or cart, whip? Do not we know that the poor innocent creatures are seized by inhuman catchpoles, torn from their houses and friends, and sold as chattels for the payment of debts? Is religion cultivated among them? Is not the Lord's Day the one particularly devoted to working
the

the negro-grounds, and carrying provisions to market?

It cannot be denied that some improvements in practice yet remain to be made in order to perfect the colonial system, and to render it fully efficient. "But," say the colonists, "is nothing done till nought remains to be done? Will you destroy the building because the architrave of the portico is incomplete? In what country are the laws fully and universally efficient? Is it in Britain? No. We can only, therefore, repeat the language we have already addressed to our sovereign, that "no opportunity, no circumstance which may enable us to make further provisions, to secure every person in the island, the certain, immediate, and active protection of the law, shall be neglected."

Taking it for granted that this declaration is sincere, let us see how far their opponents are founded in the observations and questions above stated, and inquire
what

what is yet to be done to complete the hope of rational humanity, and the triumph of the colonists. The Council of Protection, the idea of which is noble, is not vested in hands sufficiently active, and the powers lodged in it ought to be placed elsewhere. But where? There is the difficulty. If, however, the planters be sincere, it may be overcome. If oppression be really detestable in their eyes, the prosecution of those guilty of it will be accounted honourable. Let men of education, unconnected with the districts in which they are to act, be appointed to hold the Council of Protection as an office for inquiry into abuses and infringements of the law; let them have subordinate officers; and, instead of annexing to them the ideas raised by inquisitors and informers, let them be every where esteemed as the guardians of humanity, valued for their energy, and prized for enforcing laws, which have only to be executed with spirit to reflect all their glory on the

colony, and silence its enemies*. Till this, or some similar plan, be adopted, till a mode of obtaining pure evidence with ease be devised, these noble ordinances must in some parts slumber, and will be considered by the adversaries of the colonial system as mere blinds. But let me not be misunderstood; for in venturing to suggest the idea of an efficacious means, I am far from intending to grant, that at this day the generality of West India proprietors stand in need of any other observer than the demigod of the bosom, or that instances of oppression are now very common; nor let it be forgotten, that since the passing of the consolidated law, several persons have suffered death for wanton injuries and severity to their slaves from which they died; but it is too well known, that on estates out of the hands of the proprietors, little attention is paid

* In the island of Grenada, the justices are required to nominate annually three freeholders to be *Guardians of the Slaves*, who are to take an oath to see the law duly executed.

to the welfare, to the support, and comfort of the negroes. The Council of Protection should keep a strict eye on all estates in the hands of such agents as were described in my last letter; and watch over every clause of the law in favour of the negroes with a jealous vigilance.

The mode adopted to enforce obedience on estates, is pregnant with offence to the advocates of freedom. I hate the cattle-whip as much as any one can do, and am of opinion that the entire abolition of it would not be in the least injurious to the interests of the planter. Ancient custom is no good plea in behalf of its continuance. The head-man, or, as he is unluckily called, the Driver, would perhaps loose some little dignity in his own conceit by being deprived of this badge of authority, but as in fact his voice answers all the purpose of his whip, he might be very easily consoled by giving him a laced hat, and a long staff with a round knob like a drum-major's, for like

that it has in the hands of the head-man been long a mere ensign of office, and we have but to turn to the consolidated law, to see what little use can be made of it by him, and of course decide for ourselves whether it can be made the cruel instrument of equalizing the exertions of poor weakly negroes with those of the strong and vigorous. This is one of the worst charges brought against the planter; this is, indeed, where practised, amassing wealth at the expence of the life of man. It is not often practised in Jamaica, I trust it is discontinued in every other island where it has been known. To shut this mouth of clamour, the planter would do well to consider whether it would not be better to substitute for daily labour a certain stated portion of work, when it can be set off. Such tasks are given and performed with ease in America, where the proprietors are gainers by it, and it might probably be attended with equal success in the West Indies. Many planters, disliking the noise of the cattle-whip, have
abolished

abolished the use of it on their estates : But what a bugbear it is to philanthropists, will be seen from the following anecdote. For many years this obnoxious instrument was laid aside on the estate of a gentleman, who was not only disturbed with the noise of it, but was convinced that it did little good. There being, however, a variety of offences which it was necessary to check, culprits were brought up to the overseer, and received from about six to twelve lashes, laid on with a small kind of soldier's cat-o-nine-tails ; nor in any instance of delinquency, however atrocious, did the punishment exceed three dozen. In the course of time, some of the venerable old negroes, who had long considered, and justly too, that they had done work enough in their day to entitle them to the enjoyment of ease for the rest of their lives, and who in fact were never called upon to work, waited upon their master to prefer a serious complaint against the cat-o-nine-tails. They alleged that it gave all the negroes who were punished with it dis-

orders in the intestines, and that it had the effect of preventing their wives from breeding, or they should certainly have had more children. Each of these men had a young wife, having plenty to maintain her with; and the secret spring of the complaint preferred proved to be, that the gallants of the young wives incited them to persuade the old men to make this representation, and try to effect the abolition of the cat, and the restoration of the whip. On the question being put to the negroes in general, one and all declared that things would go on much better for the change, which their perseverance obtained to their great joy.

The next charge against the colonists is of the most serious nature, and which, however difficult to remedy, it is impossible to defend. Aware that the consideration of it has been proposed to them by his Majesty's ministers, and confident that they would gladly adopt any expedient, not pregnant with commercial confusion,

fusion, to remove this evil, I will not suffer my pen to express my sentiments upon it. I will only observe that the effects of the credit laws call loudly upon the colonists for amendment. The British acts of parliament that made negroes chattels for the payment of debts have been repealed, but no plan has yet been devised to tempt the colonial legislature to venture upon an alteration of the interior laws in this respect. But while this grievance remains the greatest, if not the only, blot on the colonial system, that system will remain vulnerable; and it is to be hoped that the desire of perfecting their code will lead the colonists to the discovery of some wise expedient, to prevent the cruelties unavoidably arising from the execution of civil suits. While cruelties charged to individuals are reprobated and suppressed, those springing from the laws must not be suffered to remain a disgrace to the legislature, whom it behoves to recollect their own language, when the subject was in unison with their interests. Being called upon

by the government to raise among the slaves a corps of pioneers, what did the House of Assembly say? This: "In whatever manner the legislature of this island might assess the inhabitants, to raise the number required for the intended corps, much distress, and even cruelty, would result, as the negroes would be torn from their settlements, their families, and from every other tie and connexion dear to them."

We are now to consider the neglect of religion, a subject than which there cannot be one more important to the mind of man. The world has long had in its view the extraordinary sight of a Christian community supporting in the bosom of their country a population of heathens, nearly ten times more numerous than themselves, without any pains being taken to lead them to a sense of the probationary state of man, of his fall, and of his redemption. That so many hundred thousands of men in the West Indies should be

be suffered to remain in such ignorance and irreligion, is a scandal that could not escape the just, though severe, animadversions of the advocates of Africa. The justness of the censure was felt, and we find a clause in the consolidated law enacting, that all masters and mistresses, owners, or, in their absence, overseers of slaves, shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour to have their slaves instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, to fit them for baptism, and to cause them to be baptised when made sensible of a deity, and the Christian faith. It has also been made a part of the duty of the clergy, to attend at their churches for the purpose of instructing negroes who will come to them. By these ordinances, be they ever so much neglected, the legislature has done its duty; for what coercive measure can be adopted to enforce an injunction, the observance of which, in the state of religion in every part of the British empire, is left to the consciences of men? Is there in
this

this country any punishment for those who neglect the religious instruction of their children or domestics? Would any mode of coercion be tolerated? All that has been done, all that can be done, by legislative means in England, has been done in Jamaica *. Masters are enjoined to promote religion, churches are opened for the devout, and the clergy are bound to instruct. The rest must be the result of principles and manners. The truth, and for speaking the truth I know I shall be forgiven by those who are not touched by it, is, that religion is shamefully neglected by those who profess themselves Christians, and if the laws on the subject are abortive, it is greatly owing to the absence of all

* Laws for the observance of the Sabbath-day are seldom known to produce much reform in irreligious conduct; but notwithstanding what I have remarked respecting the law of Jamaica, there seems to be wanting a clause to prevent masters, or others, working their negroes on a Sunday. The heaviest penalties should be laid on this misdemeanor. Though far from being a general practice, instances of it occur, particularly in carrying canes to the mill,

devotion

devotion among the white people on the plantations. Religion is scarcely known to be attended to, except on some properties belonging to Moravians in the parishes of St. Elizabeth and Westmoreland, and a few other dissenters. The Moravians deserve great credit for their perseverance in maintaining religious principles among their negroes, yet unfortunately it happens that proprietors, living in England, are led away by a certain reputation for management obtained by some men whom they appoint their attorneys, men who differ in opinion with them respecting the utility of religious establishments. But why should Moravians, why should Catholics, be more successful in propagating the gospel, than the ministers of the Church of England? A learned, good, and venerable prelate twenty years ago, ascribed their failure to obstacles arising from the abject condition of the blacks, and the erroneous conceptions of their masters, that baptism inferred emancipation.

cipation *. But this error, and the obstacles he enumerates, have been long removed: it is now eleven years since the consolidated law of Jamaica was passed, yet religion in the hands of our clergy makes little or no progress among the negroes: all success still accompanies Dissenters, as it did before the improvement of the condition of the negroes. "If such be the effects even of erroneous systems of faith, what might not be expected from the doctrines of the Church of England, inculcated with equal zeal †?" In this sentence is the secret of our failure disclosed. Zeal is the great spring of success in religious conversions, and it is an undeniable truth that, exalted as our clergy are by learning, talents, piety, and virtue, in zeal they are generally defective. I write with reverence, nor do I in this observation mean

* Sermon preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts, Feb. 23, 1783, by the Bishop of Chester, now Bishop of London.

† Ibid, in a note.

to cast the slightest disrespect on a body whose functions are in my mind most sublime and holy, and among whom there are so many characters equal to their functions. What is necessary in the character of a missionary is not so in that of a Protestant clergyman fixed among Christian parishioners, and in whose education a variety of circumstances combine to degrade enthusiasm, and to despoil it even of its real value. He reasons with his congregation, and persuades them in the gentle language of friendly and paternal admonition; but he is above enlisting their passions and their senses. The habits of polite life, to which as a gentleman he is early introduced, also render him unfit to be employed as a missionary: he does not mingle, he does not associate with uninformed minds. If ever he is seen in the cottages of the peasants, it is bestowing alms, or administering the sacrament to some departing spirit. He goes not habitually to converse on the burden of life and the joys of heaven, on the
sins

sins of man and the grace of Christ, on repentance and remission. In short his example and his general admonitions edify men already christians, who, born and bred in the same country, require no enthusiasm to attach them to their early habits: but how little adapted he is to the task of converting heathens in foreign countries, may be seen at home in the success obtained over him by men, inferior to him in every respect, who invade his fold, and rob him of his flock. It is a melancholy truth, that the negroes in our colonies have been left to a savage heathenism, while those of the catholic countries have been instructed in christianity. It ought to be known that when the revolution of France drove the priests to perish in exile, or exist on the bounty of strangers, the black christians of Martinique sent them occasional succours to a considerable amount. Having heard this circumstance from the bishop of Troyes while he was residing in England, I wrote to him after he became bishop of Meaux for some information on the subject, and at the same

same time I requested his opinion on the causes of the superior success of the catholic missionaries. In his answer he says, " The *esprit de corps* that animated our missionaries, especially the Jesuits, gave great energy to their endeavours. Their characters and talents were studied by an able, and sole superior, who selected those he thought best fitted for the mission. Christian obedience, pushed to the highest degree of perfection and mystic enthusiasm, was the soul of those institutions. To this add the advantage which celibacy gives to our missionaries, by keeping them free from family cares, conjugal solicitude, and anxiety to provide for children, so that the mind is wholly devoted to its object. I think, too, that those of our clergy who are truly religious, are more zealous for the salvation of souls, than are those of your church though equally religious. Notwithstanding what is said of the superfluity of our ceremonies, I have sometimes thought that your clergymen confine themselves more than ours to the externals of

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the church-service, and to eloquent sermons on stated days. We attend more to individuals, in sickness, and other cases. Our bishops labour more to form men for the priesthood, and, when ordained, more closely examine and direct their conduct. Your clergy, I fear, rather consider their bishops as institutors and collators to benefices, than look up to them as spiritual fathers, beloved and revered. This was also the case with ours, but less generally, if I may depend upon my observations. I cannot give you a circumstantial account relative to the succours I received for my clergy by means of the negroes of Martinique. The letters, which were written at the beginning of this pious work, are most of them destroyed ; and indeed my worthy *curé* seldom sent me more than general statements. He thought the negroes really good, and very grateful for the kindness bestowed upon them. He loved them as his children, took care of them, instructed their little ones, went frequently to visit the sick, and made himself of use to them in all
their

their little interests and concerns. He died in about three or four years, in consequence of fatigue, excessive perspirations and exertions, in the long and frequent journies he took to see and serve them. While he was alive, they were heard to say, that he must certainly be Christ himself come again on earth to comfort them. What faith, sensibility, precious ignorance, and amiable simplicity, does this expression display! and what a eulogy on him who was the innocent occasion of it!"

I cannot do justice to the original letter, and I have therefore enclosed it to you*.

You

* "What can I say to you, my dear friend? When I received your melancholy news, so terrible, so unexpected, my only wish was to mingle my tears with yours, and to inspire your poor heart with a fortitude which seems above our natural weakness."

"J' ai beaucoup voyagé dernièrement pour finir un travail relatif à mon nouveau Diocèse; et depuis que j'ai appris cette fatale nouvelle, je porte partout avec moi le souvenir de cette chère enfant, de vos douleurs, des agonies

You may pass over the first page, unless
you choose to read the effusion of a noble
heart

de tous qui l'entouroit, et dont elle faisoit le bonheur. Ce n'est pas elle que je plains, car elle est tombée en de bonnes mains, et tant de candeur, de piété, et d'innocence ne peuvent pas mener au malheur. Mais vous ! mais la pauvre mère, et son aimable et sensible sœur : vous êtes tous à plaindre, je le sens ; je sens encore que je n'ai rien à dire pour vous consoler. J'attends votre guérison du temps, du triste plaisir, que vous aurez pris à la pleurer, et, par dessus tout, de cette main bienfaisante qui frappe et qui guérit, qui afflige et qui console.

“ Ce que vous me demandez relativement à l'établissement de la Religion Chrétienne dans nos Isles d'Amérique, m'est absolument inconnu, d'ailleurs quant aux détails, et je ne crois pas que nous en ayons une histoire particulière. Ce qui concerne St. Domingue est ébauché dans le 7eme volume des *lettres édifiantes* des missionnaires Jésuites : vous y trouverez entr'autres les plaidoyers contradictoires, faits en présence du Roi d'Espagne, par l'Evêque de Darien contre les Indiens de St. Domingue, et par le vertueux Las-Casas Evêque de Chiappa en leur faveur. Mais les Capucins et les Dominiquains qui ont été ensuite chargés de ces missions, n'ont pas, autant que je le puis savoir, entretenu avec leurs Frères d'Europe une correspondance aussi exacte que l'avoient fait les Jésuites : au moins le public n'en jouit pas.

heart to a wounded one: it refers to a young friend of his, of whose purity, piety,
and

pas. Avec du temps et des recherches, je pense qu'on en viendrait à bout, surtout quand tout notre monde, qui est encore un peu dispersé, fera mieux rassemblé. Mais vous êtes pressé, et en conséquence je renonce à m'en occuper. Mes propres reflexions sur le succès de nos Missionnaires et le manque de succès des vôtres, ne vont pas loin, faute de savoir bien les circonstances respectives. L'esprit de Corps qui animoit les notres, surtout les Jésuites, ajoutoit beaucoup d'énergie à leur action. Un Supérieur unique observoit les sujets, leurs dispositions, leur capacité, et envoyoit ceux qu'il croyoit les plus propres à la besogne. L'obéissance Chrétienne, poussée au plus haut degré de la perfection evangelique, faisoit l'ame de ces institutions. Ajoutez le célibat, qui rend nos Missionnaires dégagés des soins d'une famille, du partage des affections, et de l'inquiétude sur le sort des enfans; de sorte que l'ame est toute entière à l'objet qui l'enflamme, et sans aucune distraction,

“ Je pense encore que les sujets vraiment pieux de notre clergé ont en général un zèle plus actif pour le salut des ames, que ceux de l'Eglise Anglicane qui semblent avoir autant de piété. Quoiqu'on dise parmi vous de la superfluité des cérémonies Romaines, j'ai cru voir que vos Prêtres se bernoient plus que les notres à l'extérieur du service divin, et d'une prédication oratoire à des jours marqués. Nous prenons plus de soin des malades, et de l'instruction

and innocence he had been a witness for
some years ; to a young friend of mine,
whose

Chrétienne des enfans. Nos Evêques s'occupent davantage à former les sujets pour le sacerdoce, et les suivent de plus près dans l'examen et la direction de leur conduite quand une fois ils sont prêtres. Enfin je crains que vos Prêtres ne voient plus souvent dans leur Evêque un collateur de Bénéfices qu'un Père spirituel chéri et respecté. Ce défaut avoit lieu aussi parmi les nôtres, mais moins généralement, si toutefois je dois m'en rapporter à mes observations.

“ Je suis maintenant hors d'état de vous parler avec quelque détail des secours que j'ai reçus pour les Prêtres du Diocèse de Troyes et pour d'autres bonnes œuvres, pendant le cours de la révolution. Plus d'une fois vous m'avez entendu dire, avec un transport d'admiration et d'attendrissement, que des sommes assez considérables m'étoient envoyées par les nègres de la Martinique. C'est à leur pieuse libéralité que je faisois allusion, lorsqu'en écrivant au mois d'Octobre 1801, une lettre, imprimée depuis à Paris, et dont je vous ai remis un exemplaire, je disois à mes Vicaires Généraux : “ Au moment où j'étois près de perdre toute espérance, des ressources inattendues m'arriverent d'un autre hémisphère ; et les hommes les plus dénnés, ce semble, de toute la race humaine, vinrent au secours des pauvres Prêtres de mon Diocèse, O Providence ! je bénis votre bonté, et j'adore vos voies mystérieuses. Ces secours ont été plus d'une fois renouvelés, &c.”

“ J'ai

whose friendship with me was of the rarest kind, whose presence diffused happiness, whose

“ J’ ai malheureusement détruit la plupart des lettres qui me furent écrites de la Martinique par feu M. Niel, curé d’ Eclance dans le Diocèse de Troyes, et transplanté dans cette île en 1794, par une suite de notre révolution. Chargé de la cure des noirs au Fort St. Pierre de la Martinique, cet homme admirable et que mon cœur regretera toujours, se consacra au service des négres, obtint leur confiance par son zèle et sa charité, et m’ envoya de tems à autre le produit de leurs offrandes volontaires, pour le distribuer principalement à ses confrères dispersés en Allemagne, en Suisse, en Pologne, et en Angleterre. Il croyoit les négres fondamentalement bons et très sensibles à la bonté qu’ on leur témoignoit. Il les aimoit comme ses enfans, prenoit soin d’eux, de leurs petits intérêts, instruisoit leurs enfans, visitoit assiduellement et consolait les malades. De longues et fréquentes excursions entreprises pour les voir et les servir, l’ ont consumé en peu d’ années, par la fatigue, et les sueurs excessives. De son vivant on les a entendus dire qu’ il étoit sûrement Jesus Christ, descendu de nouveau sur la terre pour venir à leur secours. Quelle foi, quelle sensibilité, quelle précieuse ignorance, quelle aimable simplicité, ne trouve t’ on pas dans ce seul mot ? et quel éloge de celui qui en a été l’ occasion innocente.

“ Son successeur a continué le même bien, mais avec des secours aussi abondans pour mes prêtres, je n’ ai pas eu de

whose death has caused a lasting absence of joy.

lui les mêmes épanchemens du cœur, parceque je ne le connoissois pas personnellement, quoiqu'il fut frère de mon digne curé. Quant à celui-ci, j'ose dire que son cœur étoit le chef d'oeuvre de la bonté humaine, relevée par un sentiment religieux auquel la sensibilité donnoit une grande énergie.

“ Si vous citez ces faits, parlez peu de moi, sinon pour dire que je suis votre ami ; pas d'autre éloge ; celui-la me suffit. Adieu, my dear friend ; je courrai moins cet hiver, et pourrai vous écrire plus exactement.

“ + EVEQUE DE MEAUX.”

“ Paris, 31, Oct^r. 1802.”

LETTER XXI.

The Subject of Religion continued.—Plan for Missionaries proposed.—Maroons.—The Opinion of a Missionary sent to Jamaica in the Year 1795.—Observations on the Danger apprehended from St. Domingo.—Improbability of a general Insurrection in Jamaica.—Plans for the further Security of the Island.

LET us pursue the theme which was broken off by the conclusion of my last letter. The want of zeal, the want of example, and the erroneous extreme into which philanthropy runs, are the causes of the languid progress of religion among the negroes. When the clergy, employed to propagate the gospel, shall feel the apostolic glow for the salvation of souls; when the white people in the colonies shall act conformably to their profession of faith; and when philanthropists, who preach to the poor and wretched of Europe, that this is a world of misery in

which they must have patience, looking to another for a better condition, shall cease to preach to the negroes that it is a world of bliss from which they only are excluded; we may hope to see realized the picture that has been drawn of societies “ of truly Christian negroes, impressed with a just sense, and living in the habitual practice of the several duties they owe to God, to their masters, to their fellow labourers, and to themselves.” The dependence on the remote bliss of a future state inculcated by our Saviour, is shaken by that immediate promise of happiness in emancipation given by some who yet consider themselves as his disciples. However affluence may veil the truth either in Europe or the West Indies, humility and submission are the corner stones of the Temple of Christ. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit and a contrite heart, and whether the result of our own sins, or the sins of the race of man, which have involved us in the general ruin, there is more comfort, not only spiritual, but temporal,

temporal, to be expected in tempering the efforts of melioration with a Christian spirit of resignation, than by vainly attempting to raise fallen creatures to that proud system of general independence never meant for man. Improve his condition, but improve it gradually and cautiously, remembering with awe what a monster improvement has lately been manifested; the parent of atheism, of treason, of murder, and of slavery. But in preaching resignation, let it be accompanied by Christian charity and example: for negroes, like other men, will judge of the sincerity of faith by actions more than by professions*. To aid the propagation of the gospel among the negroes, the colonists must conform

* The negroes, having no reference to the marriage ceremony, commonly call women who cohabit for a constancy with a man, his wives. The following dialogue actually passed between a master and his slave, who had taken a new wife. “You must take your own wife Melia back again.”—“Me no forsake Melia, massa.”—“What! have you not taken Sue, Jupiter’s wife?”—“Jupiter da part wi her, massa, so me take her.”—“What! have two wives! for shame!”—“Massa, wha make you come upon poor negro bone so? you no hab two wife youself?”

to

to the regulations of Christianity, must prove themselves Christians: and let them be assured, that the doctrines of humility and resignation will never proceed effectually from the mouths of those who appear to be independent of their God. Hoping, then, that philanthropists are becoming more guarded, and colonists more devout, let us enquire into the practicability of some plan for producing those benefits which might be expected from a zealous co-operation of the clergy.

I will venture to say that little or no success is to be hoped from the legislative injunction to masters, or the obligation imposed on rectors to wait at their churches. Estimating the number of the clergy in Jamaica by the parishes, there is not above one to 1,500 white people, nor above one to 15,000 of the general mass of inhabitants. Parishes form large divisions of the island, and might rather be called counties, as may be judged by recollecting that there are only twenty in the whole island,
a num-

a number which we find nearly equalled in the limits of some small country-towns in England, for instance Colchester, where I believe there are fifteen. The absurdity of a clergyman waiting at his church before or after service for the arrival of 10,000 catechumens, some of whom, with the utmost expedition, could not perform in three days the journey they would have to take, is too glaring to need being pointed out. Think of the ceremony of confirmation occasionally performed by a Bishop, who, some hundred youths of both sexes being assembled, has hardly time in the forenoon to lay a hand on each head and pronounce a blessing contained in thirty-four words. To be serious in disseminating Christian truths and comforts, the sower should be at hand. Why should not our colonists take hints from those of other nations? or wherever they can find them? Among the Spaniards in South America, "every district of Indians has a *Protector*; clergymen, paid by government, are appointed to instruct them; and the principal

cipal ecclesiastics are empowered to inform and admonish the civil magistrates, if any Indians are deprived of their just rights*". The Indian *Protector* may have furnished the idea of the Grenada Guardian, and the Jamaica Council of Protection, excellent establishments were they efficient, and why should not the example be followed in the appointment of clergymen to stated convenient districts? in the appointment of missionaries for the special purpose of instructing the blacks, unconnected with the parish duties, but amenable to the King's ecclesiastical commissaries? The proprietors of contiguous estates might be bound jointly to provide on the most convenient spot, be the property whose it will, a good house, and some acres of pasturage, for the missionary's use; and an allowance adequate to a decent maintenance should be made by them, or by the government of the country. The expence of these establishments could not be great, and should not be named when

* Robertson's America.

the benefits to be expected from them are considered. The duties of a missionary so stationed I will not presume to state. To require of him a perfection that should lead to the comparison obtained from the negroes by the Bishop of Meaux's Curé, would be perhaps expecting too much, but certainly the nearer he approached the character of his divine master, the more hope would there be of his success; a character, by the by, in which we find with the energy of action, and example in promoting the objects of his heavenly mission, little or no enthusiasm of language. The great zeal we require of the missionary, like that of the excellent Curé, should consist chiefly in an unequivocal manifestation of benevolence towards the negroes, and of the sincerity of his own faith. To overcome their ignorance, he must gain their hearts; he must talk with them, and he must engage those who understand him to talk with those who do not*.

His

* The importation of young negroes, none above twenty-five years old, is very favourable to religious instruction

Instead

His being a married man, far from being an objection, would be a recommendation. Celibacy, clothed with that purity, and grounded on those motives which gave rise to it among sincere Christians, is very sublime,—too sublime to be otherwise than rare among men. I am too well acquainted with the West-Indies to think that a batchelor would be a better missionary than a married man: besides, an example of marriage is an important object. Placed with his wife and family in the centre of a district to which he could extend his care with ease, what effect might not be hoped from a good man, sincere in his faith, and strenuous in the discharge of his duty? Besides disseminating the principles of our blessed religion, he might be a check on the conduct of those who disregard the regulations in favour of the negroes:

Instead of the new negroes infecting those previously settled or born in the island, it is probable they will bring with them a docility which Christian negroes would quickly improve into a sense of religion.

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his observation, his testimony, would operate like a charm throughout his district: to him the Council of Protection might look as a spring of energy, and he might enable them to give efficiency to the law. The great, perhaps only, obstacle to this plan, is the jealousy which he might experience from the owners and managers of the estates of his district. In moral pursuits all obstacles arise from the passions. It should be well understood in the outset, and confirmed by the conduct of the missionary, that no part of his duty will lead him to any temporal interference in the plantations, and that the very reverse of idleness and discontent is to be the result of the duties of his mission. By respect to the proprietors, and kindness to the white persons employed on the various estates, a mild and sensible man would overcome the jealousy feared, and by evincing that the strict and unfailing discharge of his duty was the result of conscientious dictates, he would secure in

I return

return respect and affection, and perhaps reap a harvest which he was not called to sow. But in order to prevent all interference of a nature to be injurious to the interest of the planter, the missionary must be made amenable to the tribunal of the ecclesiastical commissaries, on the information of the planter, or others interested in the property. To counterbalance this, he should have a prospect of being provided for, after a faithful discharge of his mission for a certain number of years. After a service of ten years, he should have it in his option to return to England, and that option should be renewable every five years after the first ten. A list of the names of the missionaries might be kept in the office of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury; and some of the benefices at the disposal of the church might be devoted to the ultimate provision for them. Such a prospect too would be an incentive to zeal, as the expected presentation might be deferred, or accelerated, according to the

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conduct

conduct of the missionary. Nor should the knowledge of that conduct depend solely on the character given by the ecclesiastical commissaries: triennial, or septennial, visitors from Europe might be sent to the colonies to make a report to his Majesty, as Head of the Church, of the state of ecclesiastical affairs in those parts of his empire.

Doubt, expence, the distaste for innovation, and luke-warmness on sacred subjects, not to say irreligion, will cause such a scheme to be long postponed, and perhaps ultimately rejected. Persuaded of this, I have thought that it would be a good plan to attempt the establishment of Christianity first among the Maroons now living in Jamaica. These people, however averse themselves to any alteration of their customs, have no objection to their children being brought up Christians. Many of the grown people are baptized, but when I use the word Christian, I imply not merely outward forms, but an inward

sense of the truth and blessing of Revelation. This sense is evidently not awakened in men who persist in habits inconsistent with the precepts of Christianity. Time, reasoning, example, might have an influence over those habits, nor should the hope or the labour be given up, but the plan that affords the best prospect of success, is the establishment of missionaries in the Maroon towns, to instruct the young, to catechize them, to baptize infants on a solemn assurance of their parents that no impediments shall be given to their being brought up in the faith of Christ, to baptize the growing youth on their undertaking to conform to the ordinances of the church, to promote marriages, to inculcate industry and content, to introduce handicraft trades, and regular tillage. I cannot but think that in a few years these towns so guided, would become Christian communities, and that under able and benevolent superintendants, they might be made of the utmost importance

importance to the security and happiness of the island in general.

Before I quit the subject of religion, it will be proper to state that, in the year 1795, which was previous to the alteration of the ecclesiastical regimen in Jamaica, a clergyman of the Church of England was sent to the island as a missionary, by the Society for the Conversion, religious Instruction, and Education, of the Negro Slaves in the British West-India islands. He carried with him a strong letter of recommendation from the Bishop of London, president of the society, to the Governor of Jamaica. His name was Munn; he was an amiable man, and a very zealous divine. He told a friend of mine, after making several excursions in the country, that he had not only received every attention and civility on the estates he had visited, but had been allowed the freest communication with the negroes, whose situation he declared was far more comfortable than he had expected

to find it. He acknowledged that he had received in England unfavourable impressions respecting their treatment, but that from what he had himself witnessed, he saw among them more of the comforts of life, more apparent contentment, more happiness than he had ever seen among the labouring order of people in any country. He entertained great hopes of succeeding in making many good Christians, and said that the obstacles he had heard of, arising from prejudices and former habits, were not such as to deter him, or lessen his zeal. Should not such a testimony, and it cannot but be known, relieve the Christian and philanthropic anxieties of British bosoms, and at the same time induce the colonists to embrace the plan of district missionaries? For if a single clergyman had such a prospect of success, what might not be expected, if an adequate number of labourers were sent forth into the harvest? The time would then soon come when we should hear governors, in proroguing the Assembly, recommend

commend to the care of the members in their respective parishes, the morals and religion of their negroes, as we have already had the pleasure of hearing one recommend *their happiness* : “ I have nothing particular to recommend to you at our parting,” said the Governor, at the conclusion of the session of 1797, “ except the pursuit of such humane and provident measures, in your respective parishes, during the approaching holidays, as are likely to secure the tranquillity of the island, and the happiness of your slaves.”

We are now drawing towards the conclusion of my task ; a few words respecting the future protection, security, and prosperity of the island, remain to complete it. The inhabitants of Jamaica cannot contemplate the struggle in St. Domingo but with anxiety : yet there is, perhaps, little danger in reality to be apprehended from the issue of the conflict, except that arising from the proximity of the French power. The notion of a free, active,

negro republic, does not seem to have any reasonable foundation. Were the country entirely in possession of the blacks, and any government attempted, it would be that of tyrants and slaves, as in Africa. A certain number would form armies for chieftains, and compel the mass to labour. The military coercion necessary to make negroes cultivate sugar plantations, may be called by any other name than slavery, but notwithstanding what has been said of the former state of the West-India bondage, a man must be ignorant of the nature of black masters, who would not embrace the present condition of the slaves in Jamaica, in preference to such a government. The Government of St. Domingo falling into the hands of black chiefs, would most probably terminate in a much worse state of slavery than ever existed before in the West-Indies; nor would those chiefs, in my opinion, attempt to disturb the colonial state of things; on the contrary, they would find it their interest to support it, and such I have reason to believe were actually the
 prin-

principles of Toussaint. Suppose, on the other hand, what however is much less probable, that no government at all were established, and that the negroes lived throughout the island in a wild, independent state; what is to be feared from people who act without direction, without union, without energy? and who, though near, are separated by the ocean? Be this as it may, the inhabitants of Jamaica cannot be too much upon their guard, and whatever tends to the protection and security of the island, should be resorted to with alacrity, and a liberal contempt of expence. With respect to internal danger, it is not likely that a general insurrection will ever happen. If some of the negroes are discontented, some are happy and attached to their masters, therefore unanimity in rebellion is not to be apprehended. In those that have failed and those that have taken place, discoveries have always been made, and faithful assistance given, by negroes. Even in St. Domingo, in spite of all temptations, what numbers remained

true to their masters! While the Jacobins were murdering the king in France, their incendiaries were using his name to compel the negroes to embrace the revolution. Hundreds followed the fates of their masters to Jamaica, where their conduct was testified to be exemplary*. Others concealed and supported them till they found an opportunity of safely embarking them. Thousands looked on with inactive horror and trepidation, till, abandoned by men whom they loved, and who could no longer protect them, they were forced to submit to emancipation. Considerable bodies of mulattoes and negroes enlisted under the command of Montalambert, De Brughe, Dessource, La Pointe a mulatto, and John Kinna, a negro, to oppose the torrent of Jacobin freedom. Besides this principle of attachment, which is more general than the adversaries of the planters will allow, there are other reasons why insurrections cannot

* See evidence before a secret committee. Votes of Assembly, December 1798.

be extensive. The free people of colour, and negroes, are ever ready to suppress them. Arms are not to be obtained; the negroes are not used to them; the generality of the slaves reside in the low-lands and open parts of the country, and are little acquainted with the interior. All internal danger, therefore, arises from gradual collections of fugitives, their flying to the recesses of the woods, and becoming a rallying point for the discontented. The grand object, then, of the inhabitants of Jamaica, should be the settlement of white people in the interior of the island. Of this the Assembly seemed to be sensible in the reports inserted in their journals; and on a proposal made to them by General Nugent for an arrangement of military quarters, interior posts being recommended, they voted 20,000*l.* for that purpose. There is great wisdom in these arrangements, but still they are upon so small a scale, that the troops may in a manner be said to be always upon the alert, a state in which no society can be considered as enjoying

joying that stability and security which is
 the result of civilization. The interior
 settlements, alluded to by the Assembly,
 were proposed, like the other settlements
 of the island, to originate gradually by the
 gleanings of the industrious white people,
 who laying by enough to purchase a few
 negroes, would begin and cultivate parcels
 of land. This, though extending cultiva-
 tion, makes no alteration in the proportion
 of the white and black population, and is
 not the kind of settlement best suited to the
 protection and security of the island. In-
 calculable advantages might be derived from
 measures which are suggested by a view of
 the country in reference to the variety of
 climates it affords. The low-lands are
 sultry, the mountains cool and bracing. In
 the former, white people find it impossible
 to labour in the field ; not so in the latter,
 where labour is not only practicable but easy.
 Let the emigration that takes place from
 Europe be encouraged to shape its current
 to Jamaica. Germans are good settlers,
 let a number of young healthy men and
 women

women be invited, and offered tracts of the interior on certain conditions; let the shoals that emigrate from Great Britain to America be intercepted, and guided to the healthy high-lands of Jamaica. Let them depend upon their own labour, and let their employment of negroes be very limited. It is much on this plan that the soldiers of the West-India regiments are to be provided for, and the government should be very jealous of admitting negro labourers in the interior situations. The great objects of the scheme is, in the first place, a large white population in the interior trained to arms; and in the next, the opening of roads. Let the Legislature by a compulsory law, for patents and avarice are in the way, purchase in different parts of the interior, most convenient and suited to the purpose, thirty thousand acres of uncultivated land, and distribute them in small portions to new settlers, especially married men. In the same manner, a little money, clothing, and provisions for each to begin with. It is probable, that were such a scheme

scheme made known, there would be no want of new settlers. Were half the pains taken by the colonists to paint the tempera-
ture of the mountain air of Jamaica, and the advantages a poor man would gain by his settlement, that have been taken by the Government of America, to extol the wilds of Kentucky, the island would be soon settled. But in offering a plan, let us consider the means of effecting it.

When roads are carried through settled lands, a certain value fixed by a jury is paid to the proprietor. The reverse of this ought to be the case on lands in the interior, their value being in general encreased from one to three pounds an acre by roads being opened to them; the proprietors of those lands, therefore, through which the new roads pass, should be made to pay largely towards making them. The value of the lands should be rated in the respective parishes; for such lands, being exempt from all other land-tax and quit-rent, the proprietors should pay a sixth part of the

the affixed value in three equal payments, in three succeeding years; proprietors of the lands adjoining these patents, one-eighth of the value of their lands, in similar instalments; and proprietors of all other unsettled lands throughout the island sixpence per acre towards the accomplishment of the proposed plan. On the roads the settlers should themselves be bound to work in alternate weeks, after they had prepared provision grounds, secured good houses, and planted some coffee. The roads should be well paved, and a certain sum per chain paid to the people for their labour. To this purpose an adequate proportion, or rather the whole of the annual grants of the Legislature for interior roads should be applied. These amount to 15,000 *l.* annually. Say then the tax of sixpence per acre on the uncultivated woodlands (not including morasses or ruinant savannas) produces on eight hundred thousand acres 20,000 *l.*, the impost on the lands through which the roads pass, on a rough guess, 30,000 *l.* a year for three years;

years ; these added to the 15,000 *l.*, give a total of 65,000 *l.* a-year for the first three years ; after which, the lands becoming liable to the usual tax, the sum would be reduced to 37,250 *l.* To commence the work, however, of introducing settlers into the interior, clearing the country, and making roads, there would be a sum of 90,000 *l.* for the expences attending the obtaining of fit persons, providing houses, and forming the establishments ; 60,000 *l.* for supplying provision and clothing, and 45,000 *l.* for road work ; altogether 195,000 *l.* payable in three years. That the business of settling the interior might not be retarded, or neglected, the new settlers should be received only on condition of their consenting to be indented to the island for seven years, in which case there should be allotted, out of the thirty thousand acres, to each settler twenty-five acres for himself, ten for his wife, and five for every child, to be conveyed to him in fee at the end of his indenture. In the mean time, certain laws and regulations respecting

ing

ing the settlers would be necessary. They should not be able to contract valid debts during the time of their indentures. They should be occasionally trained to arms by serjeants from the regular West India regiments, and made marksmen and rangers. Among them should reside some of the clergy, able surgeons, a surveyor, and a superintendant, who should have at his command a guard of six or eight men always ready, and stationed near his house. As soldiers, they would of course be under the command of the governor, but they should never be raised above the rank of warrant officers; yet as such made to respect themselves highly. In executing the plan, other improvements and ordinances would occur. It would be found at first an expensive one, perhaps, till the increased value of the lands compensated the advances: but what an insurance would it be of property! what a pledge of permanent tranquillity! All apprehension of internal commotion would be at an end, and such a force in conjunction with British aid to oppose

oppose to foreign enemies, would likewise render all external attempts abortive.

As the execution of the above project, were it to be adopted, would require some time, it is worth consideration whether meanwhile it would not be wise to establish in Jamaica a corps of police, similar to that which existed under the French monarchy, called the *Maréchaussée*, whose duty consisted chiefly in riding through the province where they were stationed, to take up suspicious persons, and keep order. Being a duty that required not only judgment, but a superiority of situation in life, the corps was almost made up of officers, there being one to two or three privates at most, the patrolling party always having an officer, by which means the privates were all confidential men. In Jamaica, the country regiments, or rangers raised on purpose and called the County Rangers, might be employed as permanent patrols of the island. The expence of such a corps would not be great, as the whole might be limited

limited to two hundred men, divided into twenty companies of ten men each, a company for each parish, consisting of two officers and eight privates, who should be subdivided into two parties, of one officer and four privates, to be mounted on creole horses or mules, the parties taking alternate monthly duty. A few trusty negroes or Maroons might be added to the parties. The country, thus perpetually traversed by active, vigilant, and prudent men, would be in little danger of sudden insurrection, and fugitives would have no time to rest in their haunts. If, in addition to the duty of observation, the officer of the party were enjoined to assist the functions of the council of protection, it would render security complete, and give a pleasing and amiable colour to an office only estimable for the order it guards. It is true, that in this case bad men might consider the party as spies, but what plan is without an objection? good men would think in a different way, and even the bad be ashamed to manifest their opinions.

The security of the country might be further strengthened by enacting some regulations in favour of the free people of colour, many of whom are well educated and sensible men; but who, though free, enjoy none of the qualifications of political society. It is but within a very few years that they were enabled, if assaulted by a white man, to give evidence on a trial of the assault. This right was granted to them by an act of the Assembly in consequence of their conduct in the Maroon war; but it is restricted entirely to the person assaulted, for in the case of any other they cannot give evidence. This order of men, and also the free blacks, are indubitably friends and supporters of the government; and it is to be wished, that according to certain criterions of religion, marriage, education, property, &c. the privileges of political society were more or less extended to them, and that from some every restriction were removed.

Jamaica

Jamaica protected by Great Britain, and secured by religious and internal political regulations, could not fail to present to the world, scenes of as much happiness and prosperity as the state of human nature will admit. May they be complete and permanent!

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manently

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departs from this system, even with the most favored
nations, and in the strict alliance with it. Where-
fore, I beseech your Excellency, weighing the dis-
agreeable situation I am in, between duty and the
desire I have of obliging you, to send me from the
painted alternatives; involving me with opportunities
that, without a compromise of obligation, may afford
me the satisfaction of complying myself in your ser-
vice.

A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

*Letter from Don Luis de las Casas to the Earl of
Balcarres,*

‘ MY LORD,

‘ **B**Y the hand of Lieutenant-Colonel Quarrell, I
have received the letter with which your Excellency
is pleased to favor me, under date the 9th of the last
past month; recommending that gentleman, by the
commission he brings, to buy dogs in this island, for
the purpose of following the Maroons in the woods.
Agreeably to such your Excellency’s weighty recom-
mendation, Mr. Quarrell was authorized to acquit
himself of his commission, and to-morrow he returns,
carrying with him the dogs wanted, as well as the
people of this country he required to look after them.
But while I enjoy the pleasure of complying with
your Excellency’s desire, I ought to represent to your
consideration, that our laws for the Indies resist the
admission of strangers into the ports of our colonies;
those only excepted in this island, who bring new
negroes for sale here, and such Americans as come to
us with provisions. Nor hath our government ever

departed from this system, even with the most favoured nations, and in the strictest alliance with it. Wherefore, I beseech your Excellency, weighing the disagreeable situation I am in, between duty and the desire I have of obliging you, to relieve me from the painful alternative; favouring me with opportunities that, without a compromise of obligation, may afford me the satisfaction of employing myself in your service.

‘ God preserve your Excellency for many years.

‘ Your Excellency’s, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed)

‘ LUIS DE LAS CASAS.

‘ Havanna, 30th November, 1795.

‘ His Excellency Earl of Balcarres.’

By the hand of Lieutenant-Colonel Quarell, I have received the letter with which your Excellency is pleased to favor me, under date the 25th of the last past month; recommending that gentleman, by the commission he brings, to buy dogs in this island, for the purpose of following the Mongoose in the woods. Agreeably to such your Excellency's weighty recommendation, Mr. Quarell was authorized to acquire himself of his commission, and to-morrow he returns, carrying with him the dogs wanted, as well as the people of this country he required to look after them. But while I enjoy the pleasure of complying with your Excellency's desire, I ought to represent to your consideration, that our laws for the Indies resist the admission of strangers into the ports of our colonies; those only excepted in this island, who bring new negroes for sale here, and such Americans as come to us with provisions. Nor hath our government ever departed

No. II.

*Letter from the Marquis del Real Socorro to W. D.
Quarrell, Esq.*

SIR,

THE Council of the Havanna, to which the King of Spain has committed the charge of promoting whatever tends to the improvement of agriculture, commerce, and navigation, of the island of Cuba, are of opinion, that the establishing light-houses, at certain stations on its extensive coasts, is an object worthy its attention, upon which the safety of navigators greatly depends, and, through the want of such help, their lives and properties are continually exposed.

As yet the Council are only engaged about fixing one at the Havanna, for the particular navigation of that port. The locating others on the several points necessary as well for the Mexican gulf as the various channels that surround this island, is a vast and expensive undertaking, beyond the actual resources of the Council. But if it should be found that innumerable advantages would result to the commerce of Jamaica from such establishments, and this appears manifest from the conversations you have held with us upon the business, and that sufficient means should be proposed to the Council to carry the plan into

execution, with resources applicable thereto, the Council will with pleasure attend to what is offered on the part of the commerce of Jamaica, and, with its utmost ability, will contribute to accomplish an undertaking of so much utility to both nations.

‘ It only remains for me to state to you, Sir, that the Council is desirous of knowing the opinion of the most experienced and most intelligent English mariners, respecting the points where light-houses should be erected on this island, the manner of constructing them, and the expence attending; with such other particulars as may be necessary for us to have in view, should such establishments go forward; and to request of you, Sir, as deputy of the legislative Assembly of Jamaica, to be pleased to communicate these intentions of the Council, that it may obtain the desired information, and learn what resolves may be taken on the object of this letter.

‘ God preserve, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) ‘ CL. MARQ. DEL REAL SOCORRO.

‘ *Havanna, 29th November, 1795.*

‘ *William Dawes Quarrell, Esquire.*

Captain Farquhar's Report to the Council of the Havanna.

‘ 1st. It would seem necessary, for the safety of the navigation under consideration, to establish three light-houses; viz. one on the Grand Caymanas, the second on the Black Key, near the south-west point of the Colorades, the third on Point Jacko.

‘ 2dly. It may reasonably be supposed the Government of Jamaica, when applied to, will charge itself with the establishment of the first.

‘ 3dly. It would appear that the other, on the Colorades, might, by two reflectors placed thus Δ in a lantern of a sexangular shape and sufficient height, insure the safety of vessels approaching that dangerous reef.

‘ 4thly. One of the same description on Point Jacko would not only be of great service to the navigation of the Old Streights, but secure the passage through the Gulf, and, from the certainty of the departure and short distance, in a great measure do away the necessity of a light on the Martyrs.

‘ To prevent as much as possible, any disappointment from the lights being out of order, it will be best to use the most simple; and as those at Liverpool have answered every purpose, being constructed from the result of numberless experiments, and of which you have an account in Hutchinson’s Practical Seaman’ship, they may be recommended as the best and cheapest. If, after all, a light might be thought necessary on the Martyrs, it is recommended to moor a floating light within the south point of the Carysfort Reef; as it is on that shoal that nineteen out of twenty vessels that are lost meet their fate.’

No. III.

SEE Votes of the House of Assembly of Jamaica of the 2d and 23d of March; the 20th, 23d, 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th, of April; and the 1st of May, 1796. The reader is referred to these Journals, as they are easily obtained, being already printed in a small volume published by Mr. Bryan Edwards, and sold by Stockdale. They should otherwise have been inserted here. They contain a correspondence between Lord Balcarres and General Walpole, with some proceedings of the Assembly relative to the Maroons. The following letters and resolution referred to, are not published in the pamphlet, but are on the Journals of October 28th and November 3d, 1796.

“ To the Honourable the Speaker of the Assembly.

“ MR. SPEAKER,

April 29, 1796.

“ I have the honour of your letter of the 22d of April, inclosing a resolution of the House of Assembly, expressive of their thanks for the signal services performed by me, during the late rebellion of the Maroons of Trelawney-Town.

“ I never, Sir, could have expected, that any exertions of my very humble talents could have drawn so distinguished a mark of condescension from the

House :

house: but, Sir, not to take more merit to myself than I ought, on this occasion, I must confess all my endeavours must have failed, had it not been for the able assistance which was afforded to me by Lieutenant-Colonel Skinner, and the rest of the field officers engaged upon this service; and indeed, Sir, I believe, that not any officer has ever been seconded with greater cordiality, zeal, and gallantry, than I have been, during this very toilsome and difficult service, by every rank of his Majesty's forces.

" You will do me the favour to present this letter, with my most humble duty, to the house; and to accept my acknowledgments, for the very obliging terms in which you have conveyed the commands of the house.

" I have the honour to be,

" With the most perfect respect,

" Your very obedient and faithful servant,

" G. WALPOLE."

" MR. SPEAKER,

April 29, 1796.

" I am honoured with your letter of the 22d of April, inclosing to me a resolution of the House of Assembly, that the Receiver-General do remit, to the agent of the island, the sum of five hundred guineas, for the purpose of purchasing a sword to be presented to me, as a testimony which the House entertains of my important services and distinguished merit in the suppression of the late rebellion of the Maroons of Trelawney-Town.

" Per-

" Perhaps, Sir, not any person has ever been placed in a predicament more unpleasant than that in which I am at this moment; but, as the House has thought fit not to accede to the agreement entered into between me and the Trelawney Maroons, and as their opinion of that treaty stands on their minutes very different to my conception of it, I am compelled to decline the honour which they have intended for me; but I must beg of you to assure the House, that not any person would receive their favours with more gratitude than I should, could I possibly do it with credit to myself.

" I have the honour to be,

" Your very obedient and faithful servant,

" G. WALPOLE.

" *The Honourable Speaker of the Assembly of Jamaica.*"

Resolved, That a letter, laid before the House by Mr. Speaker on Friday last, dated the 29th of April, 1796, from the Honourable Major-General Walpole, in answer to the Speaker's letter to him, inclosing the resolution of the late House of Assembly, "directing the Receiver-General to remit to the agent of the island the sum of five hundred guineas, to purchase a sword, to be presented to him," contains a misrepresentation of their proceedings, and is couched in terms disrespectful and derogatory to the honour and dignity of the House, and therefore that the said letter ought to be expunged from their minutes,

No. IV.

Extracts from such parts of " A Statement of Facts respecting the settling of the Maroons in Nova Scotia," (transmitted by Sir John Wentworth, Lieutenant-Governor of that province, to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, under date of the 27th June 1799) as convey charges against the honourable William Dawes Quarrell, Esquire, late Commissary of Maroons.

1st. **T**HAT Mr. Quarrell, "although he strenuously opposed, and with great freedom condemned, the measure of removing the Maroons from Jamaica, had the address to procure himself to be appointed agent for the island, for the declared purpose of securing to the injured Maroons, by his superintendence and care, permanent comforts, adequate to the justice, which he continually proclaimed and insisted was due to them, from Jamaica."

2^d. That Mr. Quarrell "presented himself to Sir John Wentworth, as the volunteer guardian of an injured, oppressed, and singularly unfortunate and distressed people; for whom an establishment was to be procured at the expence of his employers; and who, since surrendering their arms, and a valuable district of country, where they (a terror to the island) resided in
comfort

comfort and perfect independence, on the express consideration of being provided with a settlement equally comfortable, had been exposed to, and suffered, and were then suffering, extreme hardships and misery, in his (Mr. Quarrell's) opinion, very undeservedly."

3d. That " Mr. Quarrell, without any reserve, reprobated the idea of sending the Maroons to Sierra Leone, as a reproach of infamy to the people of Jamaica; and, with earnestness engaged, that the justice and liberality of the inhabitants and legislature of the island, however they might think their safety required the removal of the Maroons, would not suffer them to rest satisfied with any thing less than the settlement he solicited leave to establish for those Maroons in Nova Scotia. The chief, if not the only anxiety expressed by Mr. Quarrell, was an impatient desire to see the Maroons so fixed in Nova Scotia, as to prevent a removal to any other country, or being dispersed in this."

4th. That " while Sir John Wentworth was exerting his best judgment, and utmost endeavour with zeal and integrity, to promote the object of Mr. Quarrell's mission, by every assistance in his power, and persevered through every difficulty and discouragement in supporting Mr. Quarrell, both publicly and privately, without any the most distant thoughts of benefit of any kind to himself; or at any time, or by any act or endeavour whatever, either directly or indirectly, having sought (as Mr. Quarrell very unwarrantably has asserted he did) to have the Maroons taken from the charge of

of the island's agents, and committed to his (Sir John Wentworth's) exclusive direction; Mr. Quarrell, and his assistant, conceiving different selfish views, secretly counteracted each other's measures; and the speedy relief of the island of Jamaica, by establishing the Maroons in the means and practice of providing for themselves, by their own labour and industry, appeared to be no longer the object of their attention and united wishes."

5th. That " Mr. Quarrell paid 1000*l.* to certain persons, named Cochran, by way of profit to them for granting him aid, upon bills of exchange, which had been drawn by him for settling the Maroons, being returned to Halifax dishonoured, for want of means."

6th. That " he adduced contradictory and anonymous letters in his testimony, and used all the wretched expedients of contrivance, to excuse or veil misconduct, and to procure more money; and deceived the House of Assembly of Jamaica, into a determination to the prejudice of Sir John Wentworth, by unfair practices."

7th. That " Mr. Quarrell affects to lament, that instead of dispersing the Maroons throughout Nova Scotia, in different vacant barracks, he was advised to settle them together at Preston, though Mr. Tonge's project of sending those Maroons to the vacant barracks was never sanctioned, much less approved of, by Mr. Quarrell; who, on the first mention, perceived the folly of the proposition."

8th. That

8th. That " Mr. Tonge's second proposal for settling the Maroons, was communicated to Sir John Wentworth, not accompanied with the approbation of Mr. Quarrell, but the reverse, and has been brought forward by him (Mr. Quarrell) with design and unfairness."

9th. That Mr. Quarrell " has mistated the measure respecting the alleged promises of Sir John Wentworth, to recommend the removal of the Maroons; that the paper was written, after being earnestly and repeatedly urged by Mr. Quarrell, and contains no such idea, nor was any intended: It was solely to convey the wishes of the Maroons to Government, and by that fairness to do away and counteract the mistrusts insidiously implanted in their minds; it was done with the particular advice of Mr. Quarrell, and in his presence; That he read the paper; said it was fair; and reproved some of the Maroons for wanting any other satisfaction or statement."

10th. That " the loan of provisions for the Maroons, made by His Royal Highness Prince Edward, is not rightly stated by Mr. Quarrell: That Mr. Quarrell, and his assistant, were desired by the commissary-general to take their choice of flour, then landing from several vessels."

11th. That " the loss in respect to flour, may have been further increased by Mr. Quarrell's purchase at New-York; as, exclusive of considerable charges attending it, part of the purchase was so badly chosen,
that

that it was rejected by the Maroons, became four in store ; and finally, turned to no account."

12th. That " the communication between Colonel Leonard and the Maroons, under the guidance of Mr. Quarrell and his deputy, was a secret transaction on their part ; as were many more : and Samuels, the Maroon, was clandestinely embarked, to promote views and purposes that they feared could not bear the test of inquiry, or even inspection."

13th. That " Samuels's expedition was unauthorised by any consent of the Duke of Portland, and was directly contrary to Sir John Wentworth's opinion, and tending to mischief only ; as Mr. Quarrell was highly sensible of, when he afterwards urged Mr. Walpole, to procure something of consent from the Duke of Portland, and send to him (and also duplicate) that might enable him to escape the censure he expressed a just apprehension of, from a consciousness of having merited it."

14th. That " Sir John Wentworth solicited, and obtained, a valuable appointment for Colonel Leonard, like many other things stated in the evidence offered against Sir John Wentworth, is not true."

15th. That " it must appear evident, that the ideas contained in the sentiments of Mr. Quarrell, being for a moment suffered, would be of the most dangerous consequence: they are the infectious poison from which

the French usurpations have spread the plague of revolt."

16th. That " Mr. Quarrell has inconsiderately hazarded much improper remark upon the Maroon accounts, for the period alluded to by him, as such accounts (to be transmitted) will prove : and they will shew, that his predictions are no more entitled to credit, than his representations are to belief."

17th. That " the commissions stated to have been given to Maroons, were given to them upon the request of the agents, who gave in the names of those for whose fidelity they became a pledge of responsibility, on the commissions being signed in their presence ; and, when the misconduct of the Maroons, and of their principal instigator, was apparent, those appointments were vacated."

18th. That " Mr. Quarrell sent 3000 dollars to Mr. Moody, clerk to the Maroon concerns, with an invitation from himself and Mr. Tharp, to go, on their account, to Jamaica, where they engage to provide for him better than can be done in Nova Scotia."

Mr. Quarrell's Answer.

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MAROON COMMITTEE:

The Answers of the Honourable William Dawes Quarrell, Esq. late Commissary of Maroons, to Extracts from such Parts of "A Statement of Facts respecting the settling of Maroons in Nova Scotia," (transmitted by the Lieutenant-Governor of that Province to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, under date of the 27th June 1799, and by the Chairman of the Maroon Committee transmitted to the said William Dawes Quarrell) as are stated to convey Charges against the said William Dawes Quarrell.

SIR,

Having delivered up the charge of the Maroon establishment to the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, (Sir John Wentworth) so long since as the 22d of July 1797; and Sir John Wentworth having, (during the time I was executing such charge, frequently, and often afterwards), expressed in the strongest terms, his unqualified approbation of my conduct, little did I expect, in the month of June 1799, to have charges of misconduct and negligence, in the performance of my duty, in this service, exhibited against me by Sir John Wentworth. These charges, Sir, have been advanced by him. Whether he has succeeded in proving them, or not, the committee will determine. But, Sir, notwithstanding such misconduct, notwithstanding such negligence in the performance of my duty, as is now for the first time attributed to me, I am confident that I shall be enabled satisfactorily to prove to the committee, by Sir John

Wentworth's own letters that he fully approved, of what he now condemns, and applauded the very conduct which is now the subject of these charges.

I shall proceed, Sir, severally, to answer the charges advanced against me, previously observing to the committee, that my answers will be given into them upon oath, whereas the charges exhibited against me by Sir John Wentworth, have not the sanction of an oath in their support.

Charge I. With respect to the *first* charge, Sir, I most positively deny, at any time, opposing or condemning the measure of removing the Maroons from Jamaica, nor could Sir John Wentworth have the smallest foundation for that part of the first charge, unless he considered as such, a vote given by me, as a member of the Honourable House of Assembly of this island, against receiving the report of the Secret Committee on Maroon affairs, early in the session of the year 1796, which I am certain the committee will be of opinion, is not a sufficient foundation for such a charge; and I submit to the committee, that any vote which I gave as a member of the Honourable House of Assembly of this island, ought not for any such purpose to be brought forward by Sir John Wentworth; but, Sir, that the committee may be fully informed of my sentiments upon this subject, I shall refer to my letter to Mr. Sewell, the agent for this island, then and yet resident in England, dated the 16th of December 1796, whereby it appears, that so far from opposing or condemning the measure of removing

moving the Maroons from Jamaica, that I stated to Mr. Sewell the necessity of their removal, because (amongst other reasons) "They, though not many in number, endangered the lives of thousands of British subjects, and the security of this valuable island." As to the remaining part of the first charge, Sir, I must state to the committee, that I acted with the concurrence, and by the desire of the legislature of this island, on this occasion; that upon my arrival at Halifax in Nova Scotia, I represented to that Government the peaceable and orderly behaviour of the Maroons during their passage, and assured the inhabitants of that province, that no danger was to be apprehended from them, as appears by my report on the Maroon establishment dated the 27th November 1798: (*Inserted in the Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A. D. 1798, p. 116.*) But that so far from my having made the assertions attributed to me by Sir John Wentworth in the latter part of the first charge, I transmitted to his Royal Highness Prince Edward, then at Halifax, a statement (it is true) representing the orderly conduct of the Maroons during their passage; but wherein, I particularly enumerated, and expressly dwelt upon, their aggressions and criminal conduct in this island. I have no copy of that statement to produce to the committee, the original was left at Halifax, it passed through many hands there, and I have no doubt but that it is still there extant, and might be produced if it could answer the purpose of supporting these, or any one of these, charges. The proceedings of the Honourable House of Assembly of this island, on the subject of the

removal of the Maroons, was also sent with the abovementioned statement, therefore I appeal to the committee, whether there is the smallest probability of my having asserted what I am charged with, when the abovementioned statement and proceedings were direct contradictions to any such assertions.

Charge II. The first part of the *second* charge, Sir, accuses me of presenting myself to Sir John Wentworth "As the volunteer guardian of an injured and singularly unfortunate and distressed people." To that accusation I shall only state, that when I presented myself to Sir John Wentworth, I delivered to him a letter (amongst others) which I received from the Lieutenant-Governor of this island, (Lord Balcarres,) which letter is inserted in p. 324 of Sir John Wentworth's statement of facts, and which Sir John Wentworth, by his letter to Lord Balcarres, dated Halifax, Nova Scotia, 10th October 1796, (*printed in Votes of the honourable House of Assembly, A. D. 1796, p. 37.*) acknowledged to have received from me; and at the same time I produced my commission of commissary-general of Maroons to Sir John Wentworth, signed by Lord Balcarres: (*Vide Commission, Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A. D. 1796, p. 162.*) That the character and situation I was placed in, must clearly appear by the abovementioned letter and commission, and that I represented myself in no other character than I was justified in doing by those documents. And upon the face of those documents it appears that, instead of the Maroons
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being considered as "An injured and singularly unfortunate and distressed people," they are there stated to have broken out into open rebellion against the laws and government of this island, and that their lives were only spared, and mercy extended to them, in consideration of their surrendering themselves within a given time. I admit, Sir, that I might have asserted, "That an establishment was to be procured at the expence of the island of Jamaica;" the beforementioned letter and commission justified me in making that assertion; but that I ever said "That the Maroons surrendered their arms, and a valuable district of country, on the express consideration of being provided with a settlement equally comfortable," I positively deny. The remaining part of this charge, as to my opinion that the Maroons had suffered and were suffering extreme hardships and misery very undeservedly, I conceive, Sir, is fully answered in my answer to the first charge, and by my answer to the first part of this charge.

Charge III. As to the *third* charge, Sir, I also admit that I was averse to sending the Maroons to Sierra Leone. My aversion principally arose from the representations of Lieutenant Wilson of the Dover transport, (one of the three transports which conveyed the Maroons from this island to Halifax), who had long been employed in the service of the company trading to Sierra Leone, and who represented to me, that that settlement was unhealthy in the extreme, and that it was a settlement very unlikely to succeed; but that "I reprobated the idea of

sending the Maroons to Sierra Leone, as a reproach of infamy to the people of Jamaica," I absolutely and unequivocally deny; and to prove to the committee, that I did think of sending a part of the Maroons there, I shall refer to an extract of a letter hereto annexed, written by me to the late James Wedderburn, Esquire, dated the 29th of October 1796, wherein I stated, " That the increasing cold of the weather had made the Maroons, particularly some of the bad subjects, very peevish and discontent, and that three or four families had petitioned to be sent to a warmer climate. These happened to be the most turbulent and troublesome, and as the Duke of Portland had said that the Sierra Leone company offered to take a few families, I was desirous of getting rid of them; that the others might be better accommodated, and more readily colonize in this country." I therein stated, that " A transport was offered by Prince Edward, and that I very readily assented to their embarkation; when suddenly the Governor made them unexpectedly a visit, and I found afterwards that they had little desire to go, &c." For the purpose of satisfactorily proving to the committee, that the latter part of this charge is totally void of foundation, in which Sir John Wentworth states, that I engaged " That the inhabitants and legislature of this island would not rest satisfied with any thing less than the settlement of the Maroons in Nova Scotia, and that I desired to see the Maroons so fixed in Nova Scotia, as to prevent a removal to any other country, or being dispersed in that;" I beg leave to refer to an extract of a letter to Lord Balcarres,

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dated Halifax, 14th Feb. 1797, (*See Votes of the Assembly,*) wherein, after pointing out the disadvantages of the lands near Halifax, and advantages of those on the other side of the peninsula of Nova Scotia, with the evils attendant on keeping the Maroons in a collected body, I state "This among many other circumstances points out the propriety of separating and dispersing them, which will greatly facilitate our executing more speedily the intentions of the island of Jamaica." I must further refer to my letter of the 15th January 1797, to Mr. Sewell, (*See Votes of the House of Assembly,*) wherein a separation of the Maroons and different destinations are recommended; the most considerable number is that to Sierra Leone: and also to a letter from Mr. Sewell to the Duke of Portland, dated Great George Street, 27th March 1798, (*See Votes of Assembly, A. D. 1798, p. 36.,*) by which it will appear that in several of my letters to Mr. Sewell, I particularly recommended the settlement of the Maroons in other parts of America, for Mr. Sewell states in that letter as follows; "I trust it will be in your Grace's recollection, that I did myself the honour of transmitting to your Grace on the 21st September, extracts of letters which I had received from Mr. Commissary Quarrell, recommending *another part of North America* as being in his judgment the most suitable for their settlement."

The committee will also find, upon a reference to the report on the Maroon establishment in Nova Scotia, made by me to Lord Balcarres on the
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27th November 1798, (*Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A. D. 1798, p. 117.*) that I therein, amongst other things, stated "That I thought of obtaining some lands, and escheating others, which I had heard favourably spoken of towards the coasts of the Bay of Fundy; that I conceived that dispersing the Maroons very extensively, was the only means of disposing of them properly; and that I wished even to spread and extend them in small settlements as far as New Brunswick."

If necessary, I could shew, by many other papers and documents, that the dispersion of the Maroons was the plan I meant and wished to pursue, but feel confident that what I have stated is sufficient to invalidate that part of the charge brought against me by Sir John Wentworth. I further beg leave, Sir, to state to the committee, that when the instructions came from England to Sir John Wentworth, authorizing him to settle the Maroons in Nova Scotia, and he had finally formed a plan of settlement for them at Preston, near Halifax, I thought myself bound to comply with such plan, and to give up my plan of settlement to that of Sir John Wentworth.

Charge IV. As to the first part of the *fourth* charge, I admit that I might have asserted, that Sir John Wentworth sought to have the exclusive management of the Maroons, or made some assertion to that effect; and I conceive I was fully justified in so doing, by the letters of Sir John Wentworth to the Duke of Portland, throughout which letters I am
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only considered as the commissary of this island, for the mere purpose of managing the pecuniary concerns of the Maroons, it necessarily following, that all other management and direction of them must be vested in Sir John Wentworth. An extract from one of those letters I will state, Sir, to the committee; in answer to this part of the charge, many might be stated were it requisite. This extract is taken from a letter from Sir John Wentworth to the Duke of Portland, dated Halifax, Nova Scotia, 20th September, 1796, in which he states, "That the Government of Jamaica having granted a liberal sum for commencing of the settlement of the Maroons, and appointed Mr. Quarrell commissary, and Mr. Ochterlony assistant-commissary, to superintend those benevolent intentions, it appeared to him expedient, that the *expenditure* should be transacted by them, and the monies requisite also drawn for by them on the agent of the island whereto they were authorized, and a proper credit, as he understood, lodged with Messrs. Milligan and Mitchell in London." And Sir John Wentworth states that, "that mode will be continued until his Grace might be pleased to direct *him* otherwise." And to prove, Sir, that I was not singular in my opinion, I shall refer to the answer given by Mr. Ochterlony to the first question in his further examination, (*Vide Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A. D. 1798, p. 220.*) where he states, "That a few weeks after our arrival, I saw evidently Sir John Wentworth's anxiety to get possession of the Maroons, and to have the disposal of the money of the island of Jamaica." As to the latter part of this charge, which

which is an accusation against my assistant and myself, for having selfish views, for counteracting each other's measures, and for being inattentive to the interests of the island of Jamaica, I cannot avoid observing, Sir, that this part of the fourth charge, so strangely contradictory of every previous statement of my conduct, like many of the other charges now exhibited against me by Sir John Wentworth, is extremely vague, general, and uncertain, not one definite fact being advanced in support of the assertions contained in it. I can only answer, Sir, this part of the fourth charge, by stating, that the interest of the island of Jamaica, throughout the whole of the business, and no private views of my own, was the constant object of my attention. And that the committee, Sir, will be of that opinion, I feel confident, when they shall have taken into consideration the whole tenor of my conduct in the establishment of the Maroons; by which means only, I conceive, can the truth or falshood of this part of the fourth charge be properly determined.

Charge V. In answer to the *fifth* charge, I must state to the committee, Sir, that after delivering up the charge of the Maroons to Sir John Wentworth, according to my instructions from the Honourable House of Assembly, I was compelled to remain in Halifax by the holders of the bills, which I had drawn on account of the Maroons, and which had been protested; as will appear upon reference to a letter of Sir John Wentworth to the Duke of Portland, dated Halifax 4th November 1797, (*Inserted in the*
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Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A. D. 1798 p. 32.) wherein he states, "that it is much to be regretted, that the island of Jamaica has not taken effectual measures for payment of the bills drawn by Mr. Quarrell for the support of the Maroons. The bill-holders decline consenting to his return to Jamaica; and the refusal of his drafts has so effectually suspended his credit, that he could not obtain any money or supplies for them, neither would any person take his bills on any terms." And Sir John Wentworth in that letter further stated: "That Mr. Quarrell felt himself much injured by the dishonour of his bills, and still more so in the consequent detention from his affairs in Jamaica." I must also beg leave to refer to the report of the Maroon sub-committee, (*Inserted in the Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A. D. 1798, page 222,*) wherein it is stated, "That by reason of Mr. Quarrell's bills being protested, he was detained in Nova Scotia and other parts of America, fifteen months after his mission was considered at an end." And I should have been detained there all the ensuing winter, had it not been for the relief afforded me by Messrs. Cochran; who in consideration of a commission, (equal perhaps to what Sir John Wentworth states,) which I allowed them, and which is there a very usual transaction, satisfactorily settled the business for me, and thereby released me from a still further detention in Halifax, where I had already been detained so long, to the manifest injury of my own private affairs.

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Charge VI. With respect to the *sixth* charge, Sir, I certainly have not adduced any anonymous letters; probably, Sir John Wentworth means letters under feigned names, if so, I admit having adduced two such letters, entered in the Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A. D. 1798, page 205, and 207, appendix B. No. 9, and 11, signed John Bunyan, which were written by a Mr. Chamberlain. In fact Mr. Chamberlain, in a certain circle, was as frequently called by one name as the other, and as often wrote letters under the former signature as the latter, (Vide a letter signed T. Chamberlain in the Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A. D. 1798, page 208, appendix B. No. 12.) and his letters, under both those signatures, if referred to, will convince the committee, that the person writing under those signatures, is one and the same person. I am not aware of having produced, *on my part*, any contradictory letters. And in regard to the latter part of this charge, which if founded in fact, would be a very serious one, “ of my using every expedient to veil misconduct, and deceiving the House into a determination to the prejudice of Sir John Wentworth by unfair means,” I think it was incumbent upon Sir John Wentworth, to have stated what those unfair means were, and not to make so general a charge, and so heavy in its nature without producing evidence, and that strong and conclusive in support of it; but as I am confident of not having made use of any undue or unfair means for any purpose whatever in the course of this business, and as Sir John Wentworth has not pointed out even one solitary instance of my having done so, I trust

I trust that the committee will not for a moment conceive, that there is any ground or foundation for such a charge.

Charges VII. & VIII. I conceive, Sir, that the first part of the *seventh* charge, with respect to the dispersion of the Maroons, is sufficiently answered by my answer to the third charge; and with regard to the proposal of Mr. Tonge, in the *eighth* charge, I know but of one, which was made to me by letter from Mr. Tonge, dated the 10th of July 1797. (*Vide letter in Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A. D. 1798, page 213. Appendix B. No. 16.*) This proposal of Mr. Tonge's, was made, as the committee will perceive, only twelve days before I surrendered up the charge of the Maroons to Sir John Wentworth; I therefore referred Mr. Tonge to Sir John Wentworth, respecting his proposal, without giving him my sentiments upon the subject.

Charge IX. In answer to the *ninth* charge, it is necessary that I should state to the committee, that there was a verbal promise made by Sir John Wentworth to the Maroons, to the same purport as the written one, (*The letter is inserted in the Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly 1798, Appendix B. No. 6.*) and upon such verbal promise, I never was consulted; the verbal promise was made in the winter, and the written one not delivered till the May following. I admit the reading of the written promise to the Maroons, together with other papers, by the
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desire of Sir John Wentworth, observing to them at the same time, that they had thereby received more from Sir John Wentworth than they would have done from me. I was ever delicate in giving my advice against any measures Sir John Wentworth determined on ; and although I believed he made use of the written promise, merely as an expedient to quiet their minds, yet I never could, or did approve of any promise, which might furnish the Maroons with a plea for withholding the interests they should have taken in improving the lands which were allotted to them ; and by my answer to the thirteenth query of my examination taken before a committee of the Honourable House of Assembly, (*Inserted in the Votes of that Honourable House, A. D. 1798, page 197.*) it will appear, “ that I thought all promises of removal to be made to the Maroons, or any thing that tended to give them any expectation of removal, were extremely prejudicial and improper.

Charge X. With regard to the *tenth* charge, I must state to the committee, Sir, that I was supplied with some provisions for the Maroons, from the public magazines, by the order of His Royal Highness Prince Edward, at the request of Sir John Wentworth ; that such provisions consisted of thirty-two barrels of good beef and pork, and two hundred tierces of very bad flour, as I have before stated in my answer to query sixth of my examination before a committee of the Honourable House of Assembly, (*Vide Votes of that House, A. D. 1798, page 196,*) and

and I positively deny that I have made any mistake on this subject; for I and my assistant had no choice, the flour was agreed for, in confidence of its being good; it was inspected immediately on its being landed on the wharf, it could not be inspected before, and it then proved bad.

Charge XI. In answer to the *eleventh* charge, it will be necessary for me to refer to my report to Lord Balcarres on the Maroon establishment, dated the 27th November 1788, (*Vide Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A. D. 1798, page 118,*) by which it will appear, that "our stores of potatoes having been frozen and destroyed in the cellars, commonly esteemed frost-proof, a circumstance not usual, but at that time pretty general; and the increased price of flour, indicating not only a scarcity, but a probable famine, induced me to go to New York, with a view of making some contract there, which might be a certain and more reasonable supply than might be expected at Halifax." I did go to New York, and did make a contract for some flour there, and most positively assert, in contradiction to this charge, that the flour I had from New York was cheaper than that I bought in Halifax, it was good and sound, and was all used except forty barrels of the rye flour, which were sold by auction for more money than they originally cost, and the sum they sold for is credited by me in my accounts.

Charge XII. Sir John Wentworth alleges, Sir, in the *twelfth* charge, "that there was a secret communication

munication between Colonel Leonard and the Maroons, under the guidance of myself and deputy :” in answer to which, I positively deny having any knowledge of any such transaction. Colonel Leonard was a stranger to me, nor should I have known him, had he not been introduced to me by Sir John Wentworth. Colonel Leonard resided at Sir John Wentworth’s house, in the character of his particular friend, whose visits to Maroon-hall during his residence in Halifax, (for several weeks previous to the sailing of the packet in which he went to England,) Sir John Wentworth was well acquainted with; that as I understood the object of Colonel Leonard’s voyage, was to see the Duke of Portland, I did what I conceived Sir John Wentworth wished, gave him every information in my power respecting the Maroon establishment, in order that he might be competent to give such information to the Duke of Portland on his arrival in England. And in answer to the last part of the twelfth charge, and to the whole of

Charge XIII. I shall in the first place refer to an extract of a letter from General Walpole to me, dated the 22d of September 1796, in which he states as follows : “ I have obtained permission from the Duke of Portland to send for any of the Maroons I please, this is the cause of my troubling you at this moment. I agreed to take a brother of Smith’s, Charles Samuels, into my service, and I shall thank you, if he chooses to come here to me, to have him taken care of on board some merchant ship coming to

to London, and draw on Messrs. Walpole and Co. Lombard Street, London, for the expence, to be charged to my account." I shall also refer to a letter written by me to Mr. Sewell, dated Halifax 25th April 1797, (*Vide Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A. D. 1798, page 214,*) wherein, among other things, I stated as follows: "I suppose it is known to you that General Walpole has had the Duke of Portland's permission to send for two Maroons; one goes home in the packet with Colonel Leonard." These extracts, Sir, I contend, must be amply sufficient to prove to the committee, that this was not a secret or clandestine transaction, as it is alleged to be by Sir John Wentworth. And further, to shew that the sending of the Maroons to England, was not unauthorised by the Duke of Portland. I shall refer to an extract of a letter from the Duke of Portland to General Walpole, on application for a copy of his Grace's order to Sir John Wentworth, which is in itself, I conceive, a sufficient justification for me; it is dated, Whitehall 19th October 1797, and is as follows: "Sir, The Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia will be informed that the Maroons in question came here by permission, which will be a full justification to Mr. Quarrell: at the same time I must inform you, that it is not judged expedient to give copies of any orders or instructions from this office upon individual application." And I think it necessary, Sir, further to state, that I mentioned to Sir John Wentworth, that Samuels was to go to England with Colonel Leonard, many weeks before he sailed;

that Sir John Wentworth did not oppose, but assented to it, and that had he made the slightest objection, Samuels would not have been sent.

Charge XIV. With respect to the *fourteenth* charge, I admit that in my report to Lord Balcarres, of the 27th November 1798, (*as by reference to the Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly of that year, page 119, will appear,*) I stated that “Colonel Leonard was recommended by Sir John Wentworth to the Duke of Portland for a lucrative employment, which he obtained.” I stated it, because I had been most credibly informed that it was so, at Halifax, and from the information I received, most undoubtedly believed it to be true; but I am ready also to admit, that on this subject I may have been misinformed.

Charge XV. The *fifteenth* charge, Sir, I feel myself compelled to state, is so absurd, both as to the manner in which it is framed, and as to the matter which I suppose it is intended to convey, that I conceive it neither deserving or entitled to a moment's consideration. I presume, Sir John Wentworth means, by that charge, to attack my political sentiments; if so, Sir, the Honourable House of Assembly, and the whole Legislature of this Island, are certainly better judges of my political sentiments, than Sir John Wentworth; and it is known to them, I am well satisfied, that so far from there being any foundation for such an extraordinary charge, that my political sentiments and conduct have ever been,

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and are, most loyal and constitutional, and diametrically the reverse of those he would insinuate.

Charge XVI. With respect to the *sixteenth* charge, Sir, it is certainly at present unnecessary for me to state more, in my answer to that charge, than, that when the accounts so long delayed, shall be laid before the House, Sir John Wentworth and I shall be at issue on this charge, and I pledge myself, Sir, when those accounts do so appear, to prove (if required,) that I have not hazarded one single improper remark on the Maroon Accounts, for the period alluded to *.

Charge XVII. With regard to the commissions which were given to the Maroons, mentioned in the *seventeenth* charge, I beg leave to state, Sir, that on the alarm occasioned in Halifax by Richerry's squadron, Sir John Wentworth proposed to embody the Maroons as a military corps, (*see my answer to the twenty-eighth query of my examination before the Maroon committee in the Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A. D. 1798, p. 200,*) that Sir John Wentworth applied to me to recommend such Maroons as were best deserving of commissions, that the granting of them might be considered by the Maroons as a reward of merit; that I accordingly gave in some names to Sir John Wentworth, and in consequence thereof, commissions were sent to the Maroons, I had so named, *by Sir John Wentworth*

* When the accounts did appear, Mr. Quarrell's estimate proved to be much lower than they exhibited.

himself; but, Sir, such commissions were not signed in my presence.

Charge XVIII. For an answer to the *last* charge, Sir, I beg leave to refer the committee to an affidavit of Mr. Moody, sworn here the 29th of December 1799, and to the invoice thereto annexed, by which documents, I conceive, it will plainly and evidently appear to the committee, that the transaction alluded to in this charge, was a private mercantile transaction between Mr. Moody, Mr. Tharpe and myself, and that it was totally separate and distinct from, and had no connection whatever with, the establishment of the Maroons.

Having answered, Sir, and I trust satisfactorily, the several charges exhibited against me by Sir John Wentworth, I shall conclude what I have to state to the committee, by adverting to and taking extracts from several letters of Sir John Wentworth, written to different persons, both during the time that I had the charge of the Maroon establishment, and also after I had surrendered up such charge to Sir John Wentworth; whereby it will clearly appear, that Sir John Wentworth did not merely approve of my conduct, but thought it (to use his own words), entitled "to the fullest terms of his respect and approbation." The first letter which I shall refer to, Sir, for the above purpose, is a letter from Sir John Wentworth to the Duke of Portland, dated Nova Scotia 20th September 1796, when, alluding to the government of Jamaica being
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generously disposed to render the Maroons happy, he states, that "among other reasons for this opinion is the judicious choice of Mr. Quarrell and Mr. Ochterlony, to accompany and superintend the interests of these poor people. I cannot do adequate justice to the affectionate zeal, unwearied assiduity, great judgment and perfect disinterestedness which these gentlemen invariably exert under my immediate and hourly observation to effect the excellent intentions of their constituents," &c. &c.

In another letter also, Sir, of Sir John Wentworth's to Lord Balcarres, dated Halifax, Nova Scotia 10th October 1796, (*Vide Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A.D. 1796, p. 37,*) after stating that he had recommended the best measures to effect the salutary purpose of providing for the comfort and preservation of the Maroons, Sir John Wentworth further states "which Mr. Quarrell and Mr. Ochterlony pursue with unexampled zeal, patience, and affectionate care." And in a letter also, Sir, of Sir John Wentworth to myself, dated Government House, Halifax 17th June 1797, (*Inserted in the Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A.D. 1798, p. 214,*) after mentioning that a person should be ready to make bricks, and build and repair houses for the Maroons; he states "I shall render every assistance in my power, and doubt not of your kindest concurrence for the benefit of these poor deceived people, who have been so much indebted to your benevolent attention, that you ought not finally to be frustrated in their establishment, which you have

always had so much at heart, and not a little interested me in promoting." And further, Sir, in a letter from Sir John Wentworth to Lord Balcarres, dated Halifax Nova Scotia 4th August 1797, which the committee will observe, is after I had surrendered up the charge of the Maroon establishment to Sir John Wentworth, (*and which letter is inserted in the Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly, A. D. 1798, p. 31.*) Sir John Wentworth states as follows, "It is also a duty of justice to your Lordship and to the island, that I fail not to represent Mr. Quarrell's conduct, in the fullest terms of respect and approbation; his unremitted humanity, care and attention to do every thing that could be useful to the Maroons, and sensible zeal for the honour and interest of his employers, certainly entitle him to the lasting affection of the Maroons, and the most distinguished and grateful consideration of the government, and every individual of the island of Jamaica, which I earnestly hope may add to the comfort of his safe arrival in his own country." After these extracts, which I trust, Sir, the committee will be of opinion are fully sufficient to prove the decided approbation of my conduct, by Sir John Wentworth in the Maroon establishment; I shall only advert generally to one letter more from Sir John Wentworth to Lord Balcarres, dated on the 13th of June 1798, (*and inserted in the Votes of the Honourable House of Assembly of that year, p. 38,*) wherein, amongst other things, Sir John Wentworth states, "that the Maroon establishment still remains nearly the same as I committed it to him," which clearly proves, that at
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that time Sir John Wentworth had no reason for, or intention of accusing me of either negligence or misconduct in that service. After such sentiments, Sir, and such opinions of my conduct in the Maroon establishment, so expressed by Sir John Wentworth, little reason certainly had I to apprehend an accusation from him; and how Sir John Wentworth can account for such inconsistency of conduct, I know not, nor is it necessary for me to enquire. The decision on the propriety of my conduct, Sir, throughout the whole of this business, I most willingly leave to the Committee, satisfied in my own mind, that by their report to the Honourable House of Assembly, they will exculpate me from the several charges adduced against me by Sir John Wentworth; and I hope and trust, will further be of the same opinion, Sir John Wentworth some short time since was, namely, that so far from my having been guilty of either negligence or misconduct in my management of the Maroons, that from my attention to them, and zeal for the honour and interest of this island, I am entitled to the grateful consideration of its government.

W. D. QUARRELL.

No. V.

Opinion of Sir William Scott, his Majesty's Advocate-General, on the Establishment of an Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over the Clergy of Jamaica, in a Letter to his Grace the Duke of Portland.

“ MY LORD DUKE,

“ I AM honoured with your Grace's letter, dated the 16th May, transmitting to me an extract from an address of the Assembly of Jamaica to his Majesty, praying that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, granted by an act of the island to the Bishop of London, may be placed in the hands of the person exercising his Majesty's government in Jamaica for the time being, and desiring me to take the same into my consideration, and report to your Grace, for his Majesty's information, my opinion in regard to the mode of delegating the authority given to the Bishop by the said act, and in regard to the person or persons to whom the same may, with most propriety, be delegated, with a view of its being executed on the spot, in a manner the most beneficial to the island: in obedience to your Grace's directions, I have taken the same into my consideration, and humbly report, that the proposed delegation of the power of ecclesiastical regimen, over the body of the clergy in the island of Jamaica, into the hands of the Governor, appears to be

be liable to objections of no inconsiderable weight; for, although it is certainly true, that many other powers, which are in England associated with the episcopal authority, such as the probate of wills, and the grant of administrations, and the like, are in his Majesty's colonies exercised by the respective governors, under the title of *ordinaries*, yet it is to be observed, that these are powers in no degree ecclesiastical in their own nature, but became accidentally connected with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in this, and in other countries in Europe, in consequence of opinions and dispositions prevailing in remote times, and have only continued in that state of connection, from a prudent regard to ancient institutions, not found to be inconsistent, in their modern practice, with the just convenience of the public: but the immediate government of the clergy, in the modes of ecclesiastical discipline, is a power purely ecclesiastical, and has in all ages, and in almost all professions of Christianity, been lodged in the clergy themselves, either exclusively, as in the episcopal and many other of the reformed churches, or in association with some of the laity, as in churches of a more democratic constitution; and to lodge such a power in the single person of a lay governor, would be a novelty in the practice of the Christian church, upon this matter, and, as I humbly submit, a novelty not likely to be productive of salutary effects, when it is considered, that the person on whom this authority is proposed to be conferred, will rarely be a person who, whatever other qualifications he may possess, can be furnished, from the studies and habits of his life, with any intimate knowledge of the nature and exercise of

of the pastoral office. It is likewise to be remarked, that this power of administering ecclesiastical discipline, is proposed to be governed, not by the ancient ecclesiastical law, that is, by the ancient canons adopted by the Church of England, or by its own modern canons, sanctioned by the royal authority, but, “by such regulations as shall hereafter be provided by the legislature of Jamaica;” thereby exposing the body of the clergy to the *hazard of considerable alterations* in the nature of their functions, and subjecting them to a possible system of rules, unknown to the general law by which their duties and rights are ascertained in that parent church of which they are ministers, wherever it is established, in any part of his Majesty’s dominions.

“Under these considerations, I would humbly submit that, as the Bishops of London have uniformly declined to exercise the jurisdiction which has been offered to them by the act of the legislature, the mode of exercising it, most analagous to the general practice of the Church, and the least exposed to the perils attendant on innovation, would be, if his Majesty would be graciously pleased, in his character of Supreme Head of the Church, to nominate three or more respectable clergymen of the island to be his commissaries, for the purpose of exercising, jointly and synodically, discipline over the clergy only; such commissaries to have the power of censuring, suspending, or removing, any offending clergyman; but, under the reserve, that no sentence of deprivation (by which freehold rights would be affected) should be carried into execution, without the consent of the Governor;

Governor; subject, nevertheless, to an appeal, as in other plantation cases, to his Majesty in Council, if that consent should be deemed to be unduly refused.

“ If his Majesty should be pleased to elect this mode of answering the purposes of the Assembly, as explained in their address, it will be necessary, I presume, for the legislature of the island to repeal that act, by which they transferred this part of the royal supremacy to the Bishops of London, and revest it in his Majesty, and likewise, to make some further provisions for aiding the process, and executing the sentences, of his Majesty’s commissaries.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ WM. SCOTT.

“ *January 7th, 1798.*

“ *To his Grace the Duke of Portland,*
“ &c. &c. &c.”

No. VI.

*An exact Summary of the Returns of Imports and Exports
presented to the Honourable House of Assembly of Ja-
maica, on the 10th of November 1802, by the Naval
Officer.*

TO Great Britain—58,155 hhds. 5,722 tierces, 726
barrels of sugar; 10,943 puncheons, 539 hhds. of
rum; 28 bags, 16 casks of ginger; 2,221 bags, 426
casks of pimento; 65,921 bags of coffee.

To Ireland—2,186 hhds. 442 tierces, 952 barrels
of sugar; 1,522 puncheons, 198 hhds. of rum; 5 bags,
20 casks of pimento; 65,921 bags of coffee.

To the British Plantations—112 hhds. 3 tierces,
273 barrels of sugar; 1,511 puncheons, 158 hhds. of
rum; 11 casks of pimento; 41,381 bags of coffee.

To the United States—776 hhds. 105 tierces, 246
barrels of sugar; 2,980 puncheons, 26 hhds. of rum;
695 bags, 6 casks of ginger; 185 bags, 17 casks of
pimento; 1,083,821 bags of coffee.

To the Spanish Main—564 puncheons, 296 hhds.
473 barrels, and 205 kegs of rum.

Total

Total from this port—61,229 hhds. 6,272 tierces, 2,197 barrels of sugar; 17,520 puncheons, 1,217 hhds. 473 barrels, 205 kegs of rum; 723 bags, 22 casks of ginger; 2,411 bags, 474 casks of pimento; 12,799,595 lbs. of coffee.

From the Out-Ports.

To Great Britain—67,726 hhds. 8,893 tierces, 120 barrels of sugar; 15,985 puncheons, 773 hhds. of rum; 309 bags, 1 cask of ginger; 3,715 bags, 113 casks of pimento; 5,103,119 lbs. of coffee.

To the British Plantations—130 hhds. 75 tierces, 12 barrels of sugar; 1,393 puncheons, 70 hhds. of rum; 60 casks of melasses; 14,264 lbs. of coffee.

To the United States—459 hhds. 165 tierces, 74 barrels of sugar; 10,730 puncheons, 13 hhds. of rum; 306 casks of melasses; 1,047 bags of ginger; 1,667 bags, 4 casks of pimento; 44,945 lbs. of coffee.

To the Spanish Main—4 puncheons of rum.

Total from the Out-Ports—68,315 hhds. 9,133 tierces, 206 barrels of sugar; 28,112 puncheons, 856 hhds. of rum; 366 casks of melasses; 1,356 bags, 1 cask of ginger; 5,382 bags, 117 casks of pimento; 5,162,328 lbs. of coffee.

Grand total.—129,544 hhds. 15,405 tierces, 2,403 barrels of sugar; 45,632 puncheons, 2,073 hhds. 473 barrels, 205 kegs of rum; 366 casks of melasses;

2,079 bags, 23 casks of ginger; 7,793 bags, 591 casks of pimento; 17,961,923 lbs. of coffee.

The increase, since last year, is about 4,000 hhds. of sugar; 4,560,455 lbs. of coffee; 1,840 bags of ginger.

The decrease, about 3,000 puncheons of rum; 6,291 bags, 57 casks of pimento.

Account of Horses, Cattle, &c. imported into this Island during the same Period, viz.

To this port—1,207 horses, 2,343 mules, 137 asses, 2,188 horned cattle.

To the Out-Ports—1,163 horses, 84 mules, 3 asses, 2,431 horned cattle.

Total imported—2,370 horses, 2,427 mules, 140 asses, 4,619 horned cattle.

The increase, since last year, 139 horned cattle.

The decrease, 76 horses, 2,032 mules, 50 asses.

An Account of Provisions, Lumber, &c. imported into this Island from the United States of America during the same Period.

In American bottoms—87,635 barrels of flour; 17,083 bags, 9,818 barrels, 3,834 kegs of bread; 2,331 tierces, 403 half-tierces of rice; 1,104 casks, 10,952 barrels, 1,123 kegs, 1,165 boxes of fish; 2,025 barrels

barrels of beef; 6,931 barrels of pork; 2,214 firkins of butter; 10,773,897 feet of lumber; 14,107,584 staves and heading; 8,837,300 shingles; 2,717 barrels, 10,413 bushels of pease; 174 casks, 108,640 bushels of corn.

Total imported in British Bottoms.

16,727 barrels of flour; 1,712 bags, 878 barrels, 400 kegs, 15 quintals of bread; 1,089 tierces, 322 half-tierces of rice; 191 casks, 2,172 barrels, 329 kegs, 87 boxes of fish; 377 barrels of beef; 1,873 barrels of pork; 178 firkins of butter; 1,430,722 feet of lumber; 1,566,241 staves and heading; 627,050 shingles; 199 barrels, 298 bushels of pease; 63 casks, 14,037 bushels of corn.

Total imported from the United States.

104,362 barrels of flour; 18,795 bags, 10,696 barrels, 4,234 kegs, 15 quintals of fish; 3,420 tierces, 725 half-tierces of rice; 1,295 casks, 13,124 barrels, 1,452 kegs, 1,452 boxes of fish; 2,402 barrels of beef; 8,804 barrels of pork; 2,392 firkins of butter; 12,204,619 feet of lumber; 15,673,825, staves and heading; 9,464,350 shingles, 2,916 barrels, 19,714 bushels of pease; 237 casks, 122,647 bushels of corn.

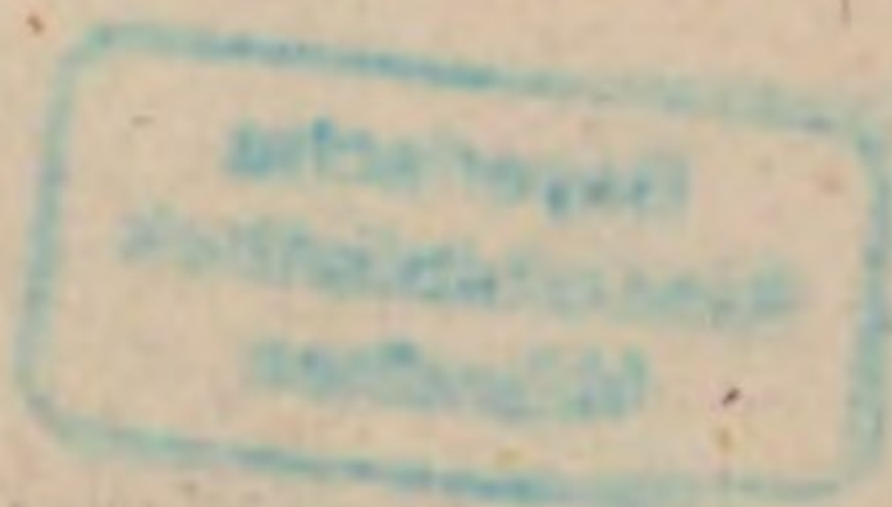
Produce exported to the United States of America during the same Period.

American vessels—12,328 puncheons, 25 hhds. of rum; 257 casks of melasses.

VOL. II.

L1

Total



Total exported in British Vessels.

1,235 hhds. 270 tierces, 320 barrels of sugar;
1,382 puncheons, 14 hhds. of rum; 49 casks of me-
lasses; 1,742 bags, 6 casks of ginger; 1,852 bags,
21 casks of pimento; 1,128,766 lbs. of coffee.

Total exported to the United States.

1,235 hhds. 270 tierces, 320 barrels of sugar;
13,710 puncheons, 39 hhds. of rum; 306 casks of
melasses; 1,742 bags, 6 casks of ginger; 1,852 bags,
21 casks of pimento; 1,128,766 lbs of coffee.

THE END.

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Succinct History of Jamaica.

Page	Line	
xxviii	19	after alluded insert to
xxix	25	for and it being read and being
	26	it excited read excited
xxxiii	18	has read have
1	9	after June insert 1692
	20	for on read or
lix	1	Brae read Brac
lxvii	6	800 read 8000
lxix	6	after consisted insert of
	15	before with insert but not
lxxii	12	for draught read drought
lxxiii	24	marble read marle
lxxvi	13	towards read from the
xcvi	5	stricking read striking

History of the Maroons.

2	6	for important read important
148	18	Green Vale read Spring Vale
182	18	and retired, next day, the 12th at noon, to the settlement of Schaw Castle, read burnt Schaw Castle, and sent their women and children into their defile.
213	11	where read whence
218	3	here read hence
240	14	were read was
313	9	contained marks read contained in them marks

VOL. II.

40	2	of the note, for No. 2. read No. 1.
44	21	dele of
53	18	dele the
57	1	insert though before he
60	8	for with read between
91	6	, on the other; read ; or the other,
183	11	of the note, read than a planter would
192	6	for it read them
193	19	for read from
212	7	was generally read were generally
310	17	in read on
356	14	opinions read opinion
382	15	dele equally
385	7	for the state read the present state
426	13	touched read affected

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